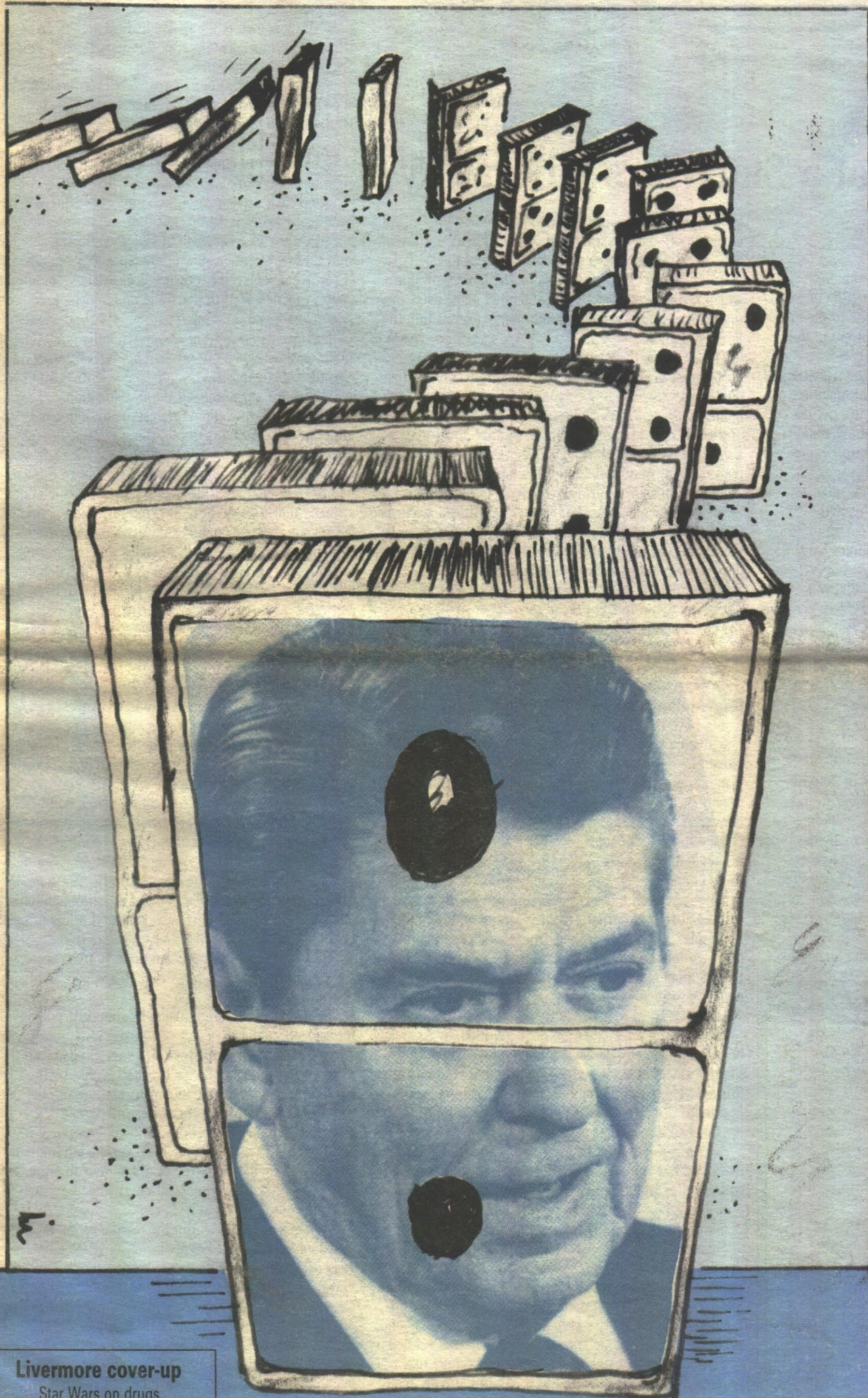


IN THESE TIMES

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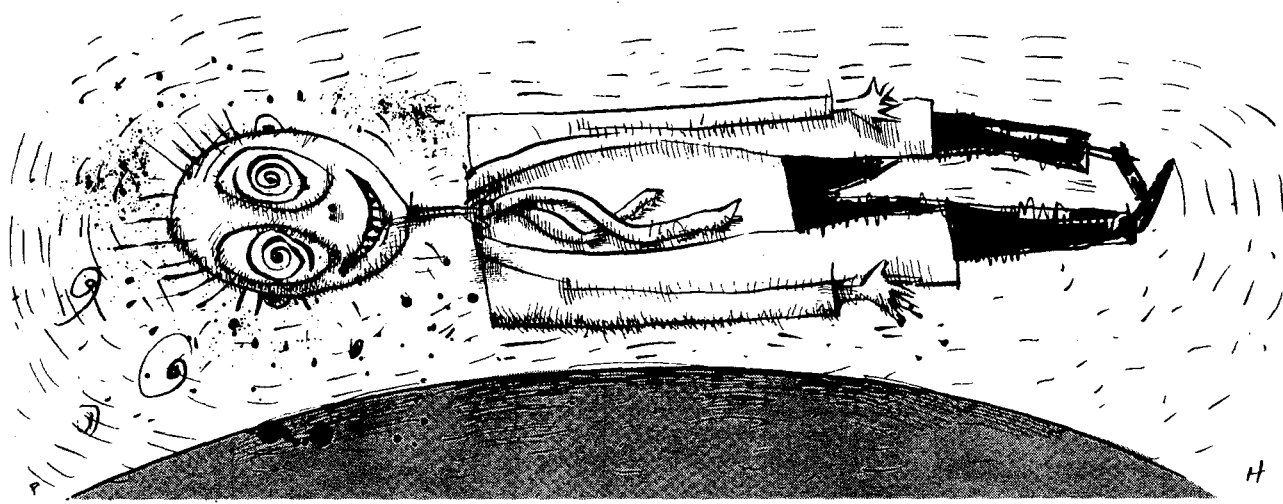
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Drug cover-up at a Star Wars laboratory

By Howard Levine

LIVERMORE, CALIF.

When given a choice between fighting President Reagan's vaulted "war on drugs" or protecting the president's beloved Star Wars program, those close to the administration appear to have opted for a retreat in the drug war in an effort to shield the shield.

An undercover investigation into illegal drug use at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory that might have implicated those closely involved with Reagan's pet defense program was prematurely halted by lab officials, sources close to the investigation told *In These Times*. The lab officials then covered up the investigation, sources said, by demoting investigators who wanted to continue the probe. The investigation, code-named "Snowstorm" was stopped just as it was preparing to move into the lab's "sensitive" areas, the sources said.

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, near San Francisco, is operated by the University of California

INSIDE STORY

under contract with the federal departments of Defense and Energy. The lab does secret weapons research and designs most of the nation's nuclear arsenal, including Star Wars. Scientists and researchers who actually design the arms work in the sensitive areas, according to the sources. They also said the investigators were never able to find out whether Star Wars researchers were directly involved in the drug trafficking because "Snowstorm" was closed before it reached their lab.

Rep. John Dingell (D-MI) said he is launching a congress-

sional investigation into the suspected cover-up. Dingell chairs the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, which monitors the competence of the Department of Energy (DOE) in managing the lab. "Snowstorm," which lasted from January to September 1986, used an undercover police agent and informants from within the lab.

The nine-month investigation led to the September 1986 arrest of six people for the sale and use of methamphetamines (speed) and cocaine. Two of the people were regular lab employees and four were contract employees of the lab, said the lab's Acting News Director Bonnie Jean Barringer. Ten other employees resigned after being confronted with a "violation of the lab's drug policy," Barringer said. However, there were at least 54 individuals identified as being "possibly involved with drugs," according to a Feb. 20, 1987, DOE memo from David Picasso, assistant manager for defense programs, to Michael B. Seaton, deputy assistant secretary for security affairs.

But even 54 is an underestimation, said the sources. They said that a report prepared by the investigators contained more than 100 names of employees suspected of illegal drug sale or use. "Snowstorm" was closed before the suspicions could be confirmed, according to the sources.

Snowballing "Snowstorm": "If the investigation would have been allowed to continue, there's no telling how many people might have been uncovered," said one lab source familiar with the investigation.

In addition, the investigators were looking into allegations that lab employees were stealing chemicals and converting them into speed or other drugs. There was no chance to substantiate these charges before the operation was ended, the sources said. Dingell is also looking into these charges.

"The subcommittee's concern about the drugs," an aide to Dingell said, "are that just like alcohol and driving don't mix, drugs and working around nuclear weapons systems don't mix. And if there's traffic in drugs and they're looking for a quick buck, maybe they'll sell documents as soon as they would drugs. It creates a blackmail situation as well."

"Snowstorm" was halted on Sept. 19, 1986, by Associate Laboratory Director James S. Kahn. Kahn said he closed the investigation because he didn't think it could go any further. "There are probably some other leads that we had that we didn't do anything with because there wasn't anything to do with them," he said.

But the sources said Kahn closed "Snowstorm" because he feared the embarrassing publicity a full investigation would bring. Dingell's aide also said he believed publicity was the reason "Snowstorm" was halted. "There was most definitely a cover-up," the congressional aide said.

The seed of Star Wars was first planted in the president's brain by Livermore scientists, and trying to turn the fantasy into a reality squanders a good chunk of the lab's research time and dollars. Star Wars is hinged on the belief that the entire system will work flawlessly and accurately. If it became known that the lab was riddled with drugs and that many Star Wars researchers may have used drugs on the job, the program's already tenuous congressional support might be further damaged.

Kahn denied that the investigation led into any sensitive areas or to people who had access to classified informa-

tion.

"That's not true," said one source. "There was plenty of evidence that led into sensitive areas."

"There's an indication," Dingell's aide said, "that both people who have high-level security clearances and work in the real sensitive areas are involved in drugs as well as people in lesser positions."

All of the other sources agreed with this assessment. "We got a few supervisors. Three of those arrested had 'Q' clearance," one source said.

A "Q" clearance is the DOE's highest clearance at the lab, said Kathleen Thurston of the department's Personnel Security division in San Francisco. People are only granted "Q" status after exhaustive background checks, she said. After someone receives a "Q" clearance, Thurston said, they are granted limited access to sensitive projects based on their "need to know."

Seven of the 10 employees who resigned also had "Q" clearances according to lab officials. The DOE memo reported that at least 25 of the employees who may have been using drugs but were not thoroughly investigated had "Q" clearances as well. In fact, the sources said Kahn shut the investigation down only days after the undercover agent received his own "Q" clearance. The investigation was designed to place the undercover agent in the sensitive areas, they said.

"The investigation went on nine months," one official said, "and just when our guy got his 'Q' clearance to get into the top-secret areas, where the scientists and researchers are, they stopped the investigation."

This violates the whole premise of an undercover operation, he said, which is to follow an investigation as high as it will go.

Demotions: The sources said that David Leary, who had been in charge of the investigation, recommended strongly that the operation be continued and petitioned for several extensions. But Kahn closed the operation in September. In November 1986 Leary was transferred. Leary had been head of Livermore's security department and he was the lab's chief law enforcement officer. After his transfer he remained in security but was assigned to the laser fission office, a job most sources said was a significant demotion. Lab spokeswoman Barringer said that Leary had been transferred because of a need in the laser department, not to punish him.

Tim Mitchell was the lab's day-to-day investigative supervisor for "Snowstorm," and sources said he agreed with Leary's decision to continue the investigation. In November Mitchell also was demoted to a staff position in the planning department.

The sources said that Leary and Mitchell had been removed from all day-to-day management responsibilities.

A third prober, Leon Drummer, had been the lab's acting chief of investigation during "Snowstorm." Sources said he also favored going ahead with the program. In November someone else was hired as permanent chief of investigation and Drummer was returned to his former position.

"These personnel moves," said one source, "were a clear message that if you fight us, this is going to happen to you."

The investigators are refusing to comment publicly on the allegations.

A question of competence: Dingell's aide said the focus of the subcommittee's hearings would be the DOE's competence in managing its facilities all across the country, using the drug problem at Livermore as a "case study." "There are indications," the congressional investigator said, "that there have been various attempts by the lab and by the Department of Energy San Francisco office as well as Department of Energy headquarters to 'play down' the problem."

On March 6, 1986, right in the middle of "Snowstorm," Assistant Secretary of Energy for Defense Programs Sylvester R. Foley Jr. testified before Dingell's committee that he knew of no significant drug problems at any nuclear weapons facilities. Foley also testified that he knew of no ongoing drug investigations at any of the nuclear facilities except in Oak Ridge, Tenn. Secretary of Energy John Herrington later wrote to Dingell that Foley had not been briefed on "Snowstorm" until July 21, 1986.

Dingell's subcommittee hearings are scheduled for sometime in June.

Howard Levine is a San Francisco-based journalist.

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

INSIDE THE J.W. MARRIOTT HOTEL THE NATIONAL Alliance of Senior Citizens, a conservative lobby, was honoring C. Everett Koop, the U.S. surgeon general. Outside, protesters from the March for Life, a right-wing lobby, circled the main entrance stopping pedestrians to hand out a pink single-spaced leaflet. The picketers' demand: Fire Koop.

The 70-year-old Koop, whose gray beard and stern countenance suggests a Puritan divine, has transformed a largely ceremonial post into a focal point of controversy, whether on AIDS or cigarette smoking. Koop has the distinction of being the only Reagan administration appointee to take office over liberal howls and to remain in office over the protests of conservatives—indeed, the same people who originally championed his nomination.

William McBeath, director of the American Public Health Association (APHA), which bitterly opposed Koop's nomination, now says of him, "I've been trying to avoid comments on Dr. Koop. We would like to say nice things about Dr. Koop, but when we say nice things it just gets him in trouble. He's been a courageous and visionary surgeon general."

Dr. Kook: In 1981 Koop had to endure a bruising eight-month battle to get his nomination confirmed. A distinguished pediatric surgeon and an outspoken abortion foe who compared its legalization to "the political climate that led to Auschwitz, Dachau and Belsen," Koop had become a favorite of the pro-life lobby. Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Jesse Helms (R-NC) led the fight for his confirmation.

Koop was opposed by feminists, gays, proponents of abortion rights—who labelled him "Dr. Kook"—and by the APHA, which questioned his qualifications for the largely advisory surgeon general's post. Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA), chairman of the House subcommittee on health and the environment, led the opposition. "Dr. Koop scares me. He is a man of tremendous intolerance," Waxman said.

Both Koop's supporters and his critics assumed that he was not only an opponent of abortion but a right-wing ideologue committed to a broader agenda of American conservatism. But Koop was fundamentally a doctor whose religious conviction in the "sanctity of life" shaped his practice. As surgeon general, he has drawn a distinction between the priorities of ideologue and that of what he called "the health man," and he has adhered rigorously to the latter.

In Koop's first two years on the job he confounded critics on both sides. He adamantly opposed depriving severely handicapped infants of treatment that would prolong their life, but he balked at the administration and the New Right's attempt to use the cases as a means of rallying the faithful. Koop worked out a compromise between administration supporters of strict government regulation enforced by "Baby Doe squads" and the medical establishment that was concerned about the rights of parents and doctors and the politicization of complex medical decisions.

But in 1984 Koop began a campaign against smoking and the tobacco industry that placed him directly at odds with an administration pledged to lower excise taxes on cigarettes and removing the "antagonistic relationship between the federal govern-

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Koop: a surgeon general who puts science above politics

ment and the tobacco industry." Koop's 1984 report on smoking called for a "smokeless society by the year 2000." Koop warned of the effects on non-smokers of "passive smoking" and "sidestream smoke," and he applauded the attempts by cities and businesses to prohibit smoking. Defying Reagan's Chief of Staff Don Regan, Koop testified last year in favor of prohibiting cigarette advertising.

Koop has also angered administration officials by attacking the automobile industry for its lax safety standards and by taking the World Health Organization's side against Nestlé's infant milk formula. But nothing Koop has done has raised administration and New Right hackles like his stand on AIDS.

Fighting a disease: During Reagan's first term, Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services Ed Brandt had prevented him from speaking out on AIDS, while the administration itself had severely limited funding for AIDS research. Before the Supreme Court acted, the Reagan Justice Department had even backed firing AIDS sufferers from their jobs solely because of an employer's "fear of contagion."

Last year, with pressure increasing for the administration to act, Koop was finally given the go-ahead to issue a report. In his November 1986 report Koop called for educating children about the peril of AIDS. He recommended the use of condoms as a means of preventing its spread. And he declared his opposition to the New Right view that it was a scourge visited upon homosex-

uals for their sins. "We are fighting a disease, not a people," Koop wrote.

His recommendations were carefully framed. In the report and his speeches Koop had always insisted that the best way for children to learn about AIDS was from their parents and the best way to prevent AIDS was through abstinence until marriage. But as "a health man," Koop said, he had to recommend steps that would prevent disease among those who didn't learn about AIDS from their parents or practice sexual abstinence.

Koop's position on AIDS caused an outcry on the right. In *National Review*, Wayne Lutton accused him of helping to spread the disease by encouraging the use of condoms—a form of prevention that didn't always work. "Whether or not Koop's utterances constitute criminal negligence, or even implicate him as an accessory to murder, is an intriguing legal question," Lutton wrote. According to the *Conservative Digest*, the grandfatherly Koop was "proposing instructing in buggery for schoolchildren as young as the third grade." In a press conference, Koop replied, "Those are people who are letting politics and ideology supercede science, and that is wrong."

Then, during a National Press Club address March 24, Koop provided his opponents with another opening. In answering a question Koop said that if a doctor wanted to give a pregnant woman afflicted with AIDS "all the possibilities that were available to her, you would have to mention abortion."

Koop did not recommend abortion; he merely cited it as a "legal option," but this was enough to bring the New Right down on his head.

Dinner protest: Since the beginning of the year, Curt Clinkscales, director of the National Alliance of Senior Citizens, had been planning a May 19 banquet in honor of the surgeon general, and he had gotten a list of prominent conservatives, including most of the presidential candidates, to endorse the dinner. But Paul Weyrich, the president of the new right's Coalitions for America, and Phyllis Schlafly, the head of Eagle Forum, called on conservatives to boycott the dinner in honor of Koop. In a letter to the 57 members of the "dinner committee," Weyrich and Schlafly declared that "Koop's proposals for stopping AIDS represent the homosexuals' views, NOT those of the pro-family movement." They repeated the wild charges that Koop was encouraging "safe sodomy." They even charged Koop with "gross negligence" for failing from 1981 to 1983 to protect the population from AIDS-infected blood transfusions.

In response to Schlafly's letter, presidential candidates Rep. Jack Kemp, Sen. Robert Dole and former Delaware Gov. Pierre du Pont took their names off the sponsoring committee. Statements by the candidates showed that they had not attempted to understand Koop's position, but were merely bowing to pressure from a political constituency. Kemp's press spokesman John Buckley gave this reason for Kemp's withdrawal: "After [Kemp] agreed to be a part of the event, Koop came out with the statement that said basically women carrying AIDS should abort their children. That being the case, he did not want to be associated with a dinner to fete him."

Weyrich and Schlafly appeared little concerned about the accuracy of their charges. In their letter they urged any of the sponsors to discuss their letter with them, but when one of the sponsors, Elizabeth Whelan, chair of the American Council on Science and Health, wrote them at length refuting their charges, they never responded either to her letter or to subsequent phone calls.

One of the only prominent conservatives who remained on the dinner committee was Sen. Jesse Helms, who was angered by Koop's anti-tobacco campaign and had earlier called for his resignation. "I don't take friendships lightly, and I never walk away from a friend when he is under attack, even when I disagree with him," Helms said.

The behavior of the New Right conservatives is not easy to explain. While some of them have misunderstood Koop and others cringe at the idea of encouraging the use of condoms, still others appear to be using Koop and AIDS as a means of securing their dwindling direct-mail base among the populace. At the bottom of its leaflet protesting the dinner in honor of Koop, the March for Life stated, "Your contribution is tax-deductible."

These conservatives are now doing exactly what they used to accuse the far-left of doing: exploiting issues for their own ulterior purposes, whether it is to build a movement or raise money.

Koop's own behavior is exceptional, but comprehensible. He remains a conservative, but one with a small "c." He embodies Ralph Waldo Emerson's dictum that a wise politics contains elements of both liberalism and conservatism. □

Joel Bleifuss

Call it robbery

When 11-year-old Sylvia Moura of Taubate, a town near Sao Paulo, Brazil, was hit by a car and broke her leg, she went to a local hospital. After the bone was set, one of her kidneys was removed and sold to a transplant team in Brasilia. Moura is just one of the victims of a clandestine organ-marketing network now being investigated by the Sao Paulo regional medical council. According to Jan Rocha writing in *The Guardian* of London, the organ thefts were exposed when the Taubate University medical school director felt the call of conscience and went to the police. He accused 11 of his colleagues of "practising euthanasia" in order to remove transplantable body parts. In one case a woman calling herself a "para-psychologist" went to the family of Helder Faria, a 15-year-old comatose boy, saying she had communicated with their son and that he wanted his organs transplanted "because only in this way would his life have continuity." His heart, liver, kidneys and corneas then found new homes. Of course, here in the civilized North the medical establishment doesn't sell organs—it just provides them to those who can pay.

A matter of national security

The British government may soon go to the U.S. courts to try to stop publication of *Spycatcher*, retired agent Peter Wright's expose of the super-secret British intelligence organization MI5 (see *In These Times*, April 8). *Spycatcher*, published by Viking Penguin, is due to be released in July. According to the company's lawyer Martin Garbus, who also represented Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case, if Britain goes to court it may ask the Reagan administration to support its position. "In my opinion, Britain's only course would be to seek prior restraint for reasons of U.S. national security, an argument the U.S. government tried and failed to use to block publication of the Pentagon Papers," he said. Last year Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government tried and failed to get an Australian court to stop publication of the book in that country. Said Viking Penguin President Alan Kellock: "The publication of *Spycatcher* can't help but raise the level of debate about the role of intelligence agencies and their accountability to democratic governments. The book certainly speaks to the view that obsession with secrecy by government leaders sometimes masks political embarrassment rather than matters of national security."

The CIA and MI5

One of *Spycatcher*'s most damning revelations (see story above) is that in 1965 the CIA's counterintelligence chief, the late James Angleton, travelled to London and told MI5 agents that the CIA had information that then-Prime Minister Harold Wilson "was a Soviet agent." At the CIA's urging, MI5 then began a clandestine campaign against Wilson's Labour government. According to Wright, this covert operation was revived in the 1974 parliamentary elections when 30 MI5 agents circulated rumors that Wilson was a security risk. British spook-watcher Phillip Knightley writes in *The Second Oldest Profession* that Wilson, shortly before his 1976 resignation, suspected he was the object of an MI5 plot and sent a representative to Washington to find out what the CIA knew. According to Knightley, George Bush, who was at that time CIA director, then flew to London to assure Wilson that the CIA was not involved. However, the day before Bush was to have met the prime minister, Wilson resigned.

Seeking conscientious employment

Last month students at Humboldt State University in Arcata, Calif., voted to amend their school's graduation procedures. So on May 16, the 1,000 or so Humboldt grads who walked across the stage were given the option to pick up the "Humboldt State University Graduation Pledge of Environmental and Social Responsibility." The vow, printed on parchment, reads: "I pledge to thoroughly investigate and take into account the social and environmental consequences of any job opportunity I consider." Fundamentally different news comes from Yale Law School, which reports that 6 percent of its 1986 graduates took jobs in the public sector, down from 23 percent in 1971.



Hammering at Citibank: Joshua Nessen, the author of the story below, is arrested at an April 3 shanty blockade of Citibank's world headquarters in New York City.

Anti-apartheid movement: same tactics, different targets

Two years ago student anti-apartheid organizing exploded into national prominence with the divestment blockade at Columbia University and a host of other actions across the country. More than 3,000 students were arrested. Those who had been proclaiming the rise of campus conservatism suddenly heralded the birth of a new student movement. The students' divestment movement was, in fact, not new. It began after the 1976 uprising in the South African township of Soweto.

The 1985 upsurge in campus protest was inspired by the intensified challenge to apartheid inside South Africa. But unfortunately, when South African censorship blacked out images of township protest, the U.S. media paid less attention to both the struggle in South Africa and the continuing anti-apartheid protests. The protests are no longer "novelties" and hence no longer "news." In addition, Congress' October 1986 passage of limited—and ineffective—sanctions led some people to the incorrect assumption that the movement's objectives have been largely achieved.

But the student anti-apartheid movement is still going strong and has developed politically in critical ways. Although campus shantytowns and direct actions were not as prevalent as last year, shantytown protests have been staged at many schools, including Johns Hopkins University; University of Missouri; University of North Carolina and Cornell University. And on campuses across the country students have broadened their focus from divestment to domestic racism. Students are also linking up with com-

munity groups to directly target corporations still involved in South Africa.

This spring activists have opposed campus racism with some of the tactics that have marked divestment organizing. At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, for instance, black anti-apartheid protesters led a March 19 sit-in of 300 students demanding that the university meet demands centered on institutionalized racism and South Africa. In response the university reversed its refusal to award jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela an honorary degree. The school also said it would address the problems of low black enrollment and the small number of black faculty members. Following an attack on black students at Columbia University in March, protesters demanded the arrest of the responsible white students. They also called for an end to what the demonstrators claimed is institutionalized racism expressed in the curriculum, low black enrollment and the school's refusal to fully divest.

The student movement has also been successful in directly targeting corporate collaborators with apartheid. This tactic is a logical next step, given that divestment has been achieved at many schools and that partial sanctions do not mandate U.S. corporate withdrawal from South Africa.

In early April Citibank was selected as the major target since it is the only U.S. bank that still has branches in South Africa. At Citibank world headquarters in New York City a student and community coalition organized a shanty blockade. Fourteen people were arrested. Students staged similar protests in other parts of the country.

There have been other corporate targets. The District of Columbia Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism picketed 15

branches of the Sovran Bank because of the institution's ties to South Africa and its poor record of lending money to black communities in the U.S. At Penn State University students have organized a boycott of Carnegie Mellon Bank and so far have convinced some local businesses and a United Electrical Workers local to withdraw their accounts. Penn State students also joined a protest against Johnson and Johnson's investment in South Africa that was organized by Rutgers University students and local unions at that company's New Jersey headquarters.

It is critical that the student anti-apartheid movement work against domestic racism and U.S. corporate investment, but the organizing needs to be deepened in several important ways. First, the lack of news from South Africa has meant that anti-apartheid forces must develop educational strategies to inspire action against U.S. ties to South Africa. Second, the very achievement of divestment at some key schools has deprived organizers of a dynamic organizing vehicle. This makes it all the more critical for students to programmatically support the liberation struggle in southern Africa and counter U.S. policy in the region. The importance of doing so is underlined by recent U.S. military maneuvers in southern Zaire and the administration's continuing support for UNITA in Angola.

Student anti-apartheid actions here have been a catalyst for campus organizing on other fronts, including racism and Central America. However, to continue to be effective the student movement needs to better coordinate its activities.

—Joshua Nessen

The author is the national student coordinator of the American Committee on Africa.

Catastrophic illness insurance: is nothing better than something?

The greatest health-care controversy in the nation's capital these days revolves around the definition of a single word: catastrophe. Lawmakers disagree vehemently over who and what should be covered under a national catastrophic illness insurance plan.

Ed Howard of Upper Marlboro, Md., thinks he knows what a catastrophe is. He is living through one.

In 1983 his wife was stricken with cancer. In the year before she died he spent \$17,000 for her care. His four insurance policies paid \$64. "My own health has deteriorated," he testified before the Senate Aging Committee. Howard had a stroke, a liver disorder and a leg amputated. His care is uncovered by Medicare and insurance. His life savings is almost exhausted.

Howard's nightmare is one that haunts the nation's elderly. Since President Reagan in February endorsed a national catastrophic insurance plan, calling it "that last full measure of security for America's elderly," the level of

biartisan support has increased to the point that it's no longer a matter of whether such a bill will pass, but when.

Critics of the administration's plan say it would not give people like Howard much relief. Authored by Health and Human Services Secretary Otis Bowen, the plan would pay for long hospital stays. For an optional \$4.92 monthly premium participants would pay no more than \$2,000 a year for hospital care.

But the plan would not address the bankrupting potential of long-term health care. Less than 1 percent of the Medicare population requires extended hospital stays costing more than \$2,000.

A far greater number of people suffer from ailments, like Alzheimer's disease, that require long-term residential nursing care or expensive lifelong medication, neither of which is covered by Medicare—or the Bowen plan. Nor does the plan help the nation's 37 million uninsured people under 64, or the 200 million underinsured.

Critics of the Bowen plan have also pointed out that its funding mechanism is so regressive that just paying the increased premiums would constitute a near catastrophe for the many elderly on meager fixed incomes.

of "elite democracy"—many voters opted to fill the 25 blank spaces on their ballots with "Cory's candidates" in the national election for 24 senate seats and the one district house seat.

But administration favorites and the predominantly aging vets of the right-wing opposition ticket were not the only participants in this latest political battle. For the first time in almost 40 years a significant left-wing force joined the fray. The ANP—consisting of the Party of the People, the New Patriotic Alliance, Volunteers for Popular Democracy and smaller local and national organizations—ran seven senate candidates and supported two of the administration's. It also supported or ran candidates in many of the 200 district house races. (Fifty other house seats are appointed by the president.)

That the Alliance did poorly in the senate contests was not surprising. It was inexperienced, underfunded and susceptible to red-baiting owing to its radical politics and the past ties of its candidates to the revolutionary movement. The Alliance also suffered from Aquino's Peoples Power (LABAN) coalition monopoly on the simple "anti-fascist" vote.

More disappointing for the left was its poor performance in the races for the house and the continued domination of personality-oriented rather than issue-oriented campaigns in the national contest. Members of the Alliance expected to win at least 15 and perhaps as many as 40 of the house seats available in the election. It will be some time before the official results are in, but it's already clear that left

A bill the House Ways and Means Committee recently passed would address that complaint. Introduced by Rep. Peter Stark (D-CA), this bill would fund catastrophic illness care with premiums based on a sliding income scale.

There's an element of skepticism among some observers as the hearings progress. "This excitement and momentum is more of an incumbency protection act than anything else," scoffs Jack Christy of the American Association of Retired Persons. "It's not aimed at protection of the elderly."

Stark, like Bowen, has been criticized for describing his plan as one that would truly protect the elderly from the cost of catastrophic illness. He says he'd like to support something more comprehensive, but there's no way such a bill would get through Congress.

Christy thinks nothing at all might be better than what he considers the Band-Aid approach proposed by Bowen and Stark. "I don't think we have to buy what they're selling or just foreclose," he says. "The forces that are making catastrophic [insurance] appealing to the public are not going to dissipate."

—Tracy L. Barnett

and left-leaning candidates independent of the Aquino coalition won few if any seats.

The fact that so many candidates depended on personalities, famous faces, catchy slogans and jingles and the historic troika of "guns, goons and gold" during the campaign was disappointing not only to the left's independent candidates, but also to some of the LABAN slate's more thoughtful candidates. Augusto Sanchez was one such candidate. The former minister of labor was named to the senate slate a short while after Aquino accepted his forced resignation from the cabinet for his left-of-center views.

"In some ways the campaign was worse than even the old traditional politics," said Sanchez shortly before the election. "I would have thought that issues would have mattered more than personalities and money. They didn't."

Aquino's victory brings with it responsibilities and new challenges. With a virtual restoration of constitutional rule—all that's left to do is elect mayors, governors and other local officials later this year—the president has no more excuses for not implementing needed reforms.

Should the government fail, it will create new opportunities for the left, which, despite its electoral setback, retains a grassroots network, especially in the poorest communities in the countryside and some cities. Whether the left will be able to take advantage of potential openings remains to be seen.

—James B. Goodno

Coup in Fiji

Good news for the U.S. nuclear fleet in the South Pacific. The left-leaning coalition of Fijian Prime Minister Tiomoci Bavadra, voted into office April 12, was overthrown in a military coup d'etat on May 14. (As *In These Times* went to press it had not been determined how Fiji's post-coup government would be constructed.) The deposed Bavadra government had pledged itself to a non-aligned foreign policy and was proposing, as New Zealand's Labour government has done, to ban the nuclear-armed U.S. Navy. Pacific watchers had been predicting that these policies would have a significant impact throughout the South Pacific, according to *The Guardian* of London. And the Institute for Policy Studies, a left-wing Washington think tank, has obtained through a Freedom of Information request the U.S. Information Agency's 1986 "General Statement—East Asia and Pacific Program." The document discusses what the U.S. perceives as the "crippling" effects of New Zealand's anti-nuclear example. "The questions that are raised with New Zealand are central to our relations with all South Pacific countries," says the document. "Other nations will find it difficult to resist pressures to emulate the New Zealand example. Australia and smaller Pacific states including Fiji [which was then under the U.S.-aligned government that lost the April 12 election] and Papua New Guinea are concerned about the implications of the New Zealand policy." As far as the U.S. is concerned, Fiji is in safe hands again. According to *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas D. Kristof, the officer who led the coup, Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, has since "criticized the non-aligned foreign policy of Dr. Bavadra's government" and "sounded more conservative and pro-Western."

Was the U.S. involved?

On April 30, two weeks before the Fiji coup, Vernon Walters, retired general, former deputy director of the CIA and current U.N. ambassador, began a three-day visit to Fiji. His visit was part of a month-long tour of the South Pacific. According to Mike Munro of the *New Zealand Herald* in Auckland there is "lots of speculation about what he was doing in Fiji" but "not much is known." The *New Zealand Herald* reported that on April 19, Bill Sutton, a member of New Zealand's parliament, told a regional Labour Party conference: "Wherever that character [Walters] travels around the world there always seems to be a transfer of power from a democratically elected government to a military junta." The U.S. Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand, has denied any U.S. involvement in the coup. Sutton says that the situation would be clearer if the U.S. would denounce the military takeover.

Vernon Walters speaks

At a 1980 "Colloquium on Covert Action" in Washington, then-CIA Deputy Director Vernon Walters gave a paper on "political and propaganda covert action." He said: "When a nation decides that the actions of another nation...constitute a serious threat to the interests of that first nation...it then seeks to weaken its adversary and defuse the threat...." The retired general spoke from experience. Walters was involved in the 1953 U.S.-backed Iranian *putsch* that put the Shah in power. And according to Louis Wolf and William Vornberger writing in *Covert Action*, "The elected government [of Brazilian President] Joao Goulart was overthrown [in 1964] with the help of U.S. military attache Vernon Walters and the CIA, bringing to power the ruthless Castelo Branco dictatorship."

Contra sleaze

In 1986 Robert Owen, Lt. Col. Oliver North's bagman, sent a memo to North criticizing the contra leadership. According to a May 21 *New York Times* report by Stephen Engelberg, Owen wrote that former Coca-Cola bottler and contra strongman Adolfo Calero had surrounded himself with aides who were "liars and greed-and-power motivated." This war has become a business to many of them. There is still a belief the Marines are going to have to invade, so let's get set so we will automatically be the ones put into power." Owen said that if the U.S. officials "[think] they control Calero, they also have another thing coming. The question should be asked does Calero manipulate the [U.S. government]? On several occasions, the answer is yes...." Owen wrote that giving aid to the contras without making improvements in their leadership "will be like pouring money down the sinkhole.... Things will not get better, they will get worse. The heavy hand of the gringo is needed."

How Aquino won

MANILA—Like a prize boxer, Philippine President Corazon Aquino keeps emerging from ferocious battles not only victorious but apparently unscathed and stronger than ever.

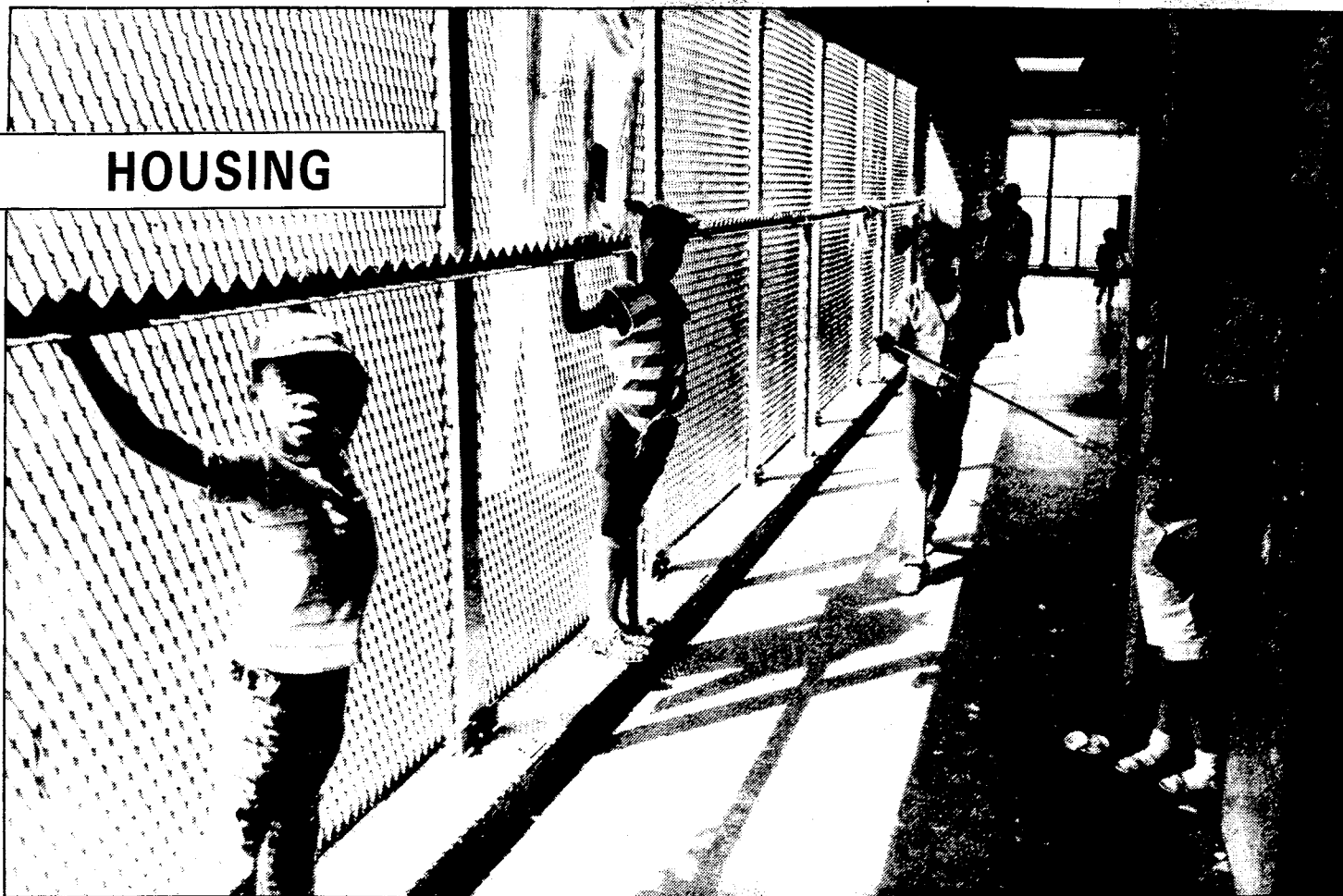
Aquino did this most recently on May 12 when an overwhelming majority of her handpicked senate candidates swept to victory in the first election since she came to power 15 months ago.

"Cory's magic worked," said Lorenzo Teves, a candidate of the right-wing Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD). "The people have spoken." Teves was one of the few oppositionists to concede defeat.

Despite the howls of protest from Teves' 23 GAD running mates, candidates of Marcos' New Society Movement (KBL) and some leaders of the leftist Alliance for New Politics (ANP), Teves was right. At press time 22 of 23 of Aquino's allies appeared headed for victory. Some were strong candidates in their own right, but most depended on Aquino's endorsement, vanquishing even much better known candidates of the opposition. GAD's supposed powerhouse, former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, was caught in a close race for one of the final seats in the nationwide race. The opposition's only sure winner was GAD's Joseph Estrada, a popular movie star.

For Enrile and others smeared by past ties to the dictatorship, the senate race was a complete disaster. They were repudiated and dismissed out of hand. In completing their break with the recent past—though not the more distant past

HOUSING



A recent report found that families with children now represent more than one-third of the homeless.

Building a foundation for much needed reform

By Salim Muwakkil

IN THE LARGE AND GROWING FIELD OF PRESIDENTIAL candidates, only Illinois Sen. Paul Simon is addressing the housing crisis that this nation is undergoing. Like the federal government, those candidates aspiring to head it apparently have decided that the urgent need for affordable shelter is a subject best ignored.

And the need is urgent. According to figures compiled by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the number of people in poverty increased from 11.7 percent in 1979 to more than 15 percent in 1985, while the stock of low-income housing has decreased dramatically. A report completed last year by the congressional subcommittee on intergovernmental relations and human resources found that half a million low-income rental units are lost each year to upscaling, condominium conversion, abandonment, arson or demolition.

And only half the needed housing is being built. Nearly eight million households pay more than half their incomes for shelter. Two and a half million people are displaced or evicted every year. This gap between affordable housing and those in need of it—estimated by the Low Income Housing Information Service at four million units—has resulted in millions living in substandard housing and growing numbers of homeless.

Despite this, spending authority for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has been cut more than 70 percent during the reign of Ronald Reagan; in fiscal 1980 HUD's budget was \$35.7 billion and, if Congress accepts the administration's new budget proposals, that amount will plunge

to \$10.3 billion in fiscal 1988. HUD Secretary Samuel R. Pierce Jr., Reagan's lone black cabinet member, has been willing to accept the deepest budget cuts of any department and has helped terminate the federal government's 50-year commitment to ensuring housing for the poor.

Stymied by solid Republican opposition, Congress has not enacted a regular housing authorization bill since 1980. But with Democrats now back in control, most observers expect a modest housing bill to be passed this year. The growing visibility of the homeless and the increased militancy of advocacy groups also enhance chances for congressional action.

Homeless families: A report released at a May regional meeting of the U.S. Conference of Mayors revealed that family homelessness increased by an average of 31 percent in all but one of 29 major cities surveyed. Large cities with rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods seemingly fare worse. In San Francisco, for example, the increases in the number of families seeking emergency shelter is up 100 percent.

Most of these cities, according to the survey, have had to turn away needy families because they lack the resources to accommodate them. The mayors' report found that families with children now represent more than one-third of the homeless, and is the fastest growing segment of that population. Officials in every city surveyed cited the lack of affordable housing as a major cause of homelessness. For example, over the past 10 years the U.S. has lost more than half of its cheap single-room occupancy units, many of which are utilized by poor people.

Many argue that unemployment and under-

employment are the major culprits. They add that the economic recovery touted so insistently by the Reagan administration has not benefitted the poor and in some cases has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. A spokesman for the Salvation Army, which shelters about 60,000 homeless daily, told the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* that the increase in family homelessness is caused by the continuous loss of middle-class jobs.

"The administration talks about all the new jobs that have been created, how unemployment is down to 6 percent. But all of [the new jobs] are minimum wage that pay \$7,000 a year," said Lt. Col. Ernest A. Miller, public affairs director for the Salvation Army. "Who can raise a family on \$7,000 a year? That's the new homeless."

Simon says: In contrast, presidential candidate Simon is addressing the problem of homelessness as a problem of joblessness. In pushing for his Guaranteed Job Opportunity Program legislation in the Senate, Simon maintains that the three interests of the homeless, in order of importance are jobs, food and shelter. "Shelter," Simon said, "is

Public housing tenants often have no alternative but to continue living in rapidly crumbling edifices. The ongoing crisis for these low-income individuals is one of institutional entropy.

the most visible need but the least important. If we really want to help homeless people, the long-term answer for many of them is jobs." But the jobs Simon's bill would provide pay a little more than \$460 a month, or about

\$5,525 a year. Such a paltry salary without supplemental assistance would merely perpetuate the problem identified by the Salvation Army's Miller.

Still, Simon's proposals at least acknowledge the problem. "I've not heard much from any of the candidates about ways to deal effectively with the housing crisis in which this country finds itself," noted Chester Hartman, an expert on housing issues and a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, a left think-tank based in Washington, D.C. "I must admit I'm a bit surprised; not even [Jesse] Jackson has talked much about this crisis, though his constituency is one of the most adversely affected."

Public housing: The problem of homeless individuals—who range in number from the low of 250,000 estimated by HUD to the three million estimated by most advocacy groups—is not the only shelter emergency confronting this country. Public housing has been hardest hit by federal government's retreat from the struggle for affordable housing.

From its very inception, public housing was designed to serve only those people who could not compete for housing in the private market. The powerful real-estate interests and labor organizations, fearing government competition in the traditional housing market, fought to limit per-unit spending. So despite various warnings against concentrating the poor into isolated high-rises, the government responded to pressures from the well-heeled critics of public housing and constructed brick-and-concrete monoliths to house the desperate tenants.

"It seems like the people who planned the public housing didn't really care about the people who were going to live in it," said Michael Davis, manager of Dearborn Homes, a Chicago housing project. "They were just considered poor, illiterate people. That's what the public's image was, so the attitude was: 'Let's put them all in one place, in these huge buildings, and just let the damned things go—let them fall apart.'"

In major cities throughout the country these architectural monstrosities are falling apart. However, with the Reaganomic abandonment of the program, the tenants have no alternative but to remain in those crumbling edifices. The crisis for these low-income individuals is one of institutional entropy. Operating subsidies and modernization funds would do much to remedy the situation, for, although public housing has been mercilessly—and often justifiably—criticized, it has provided shelter to millions of this country's poorest and neediest households.

With the departure, and possible disgrace, of the Reaganites imminent, Congress seems ready to direct more assistance to troubled public-housing agencies. Both houses of Congress recently passing housing bills allocating additional resources to make shelter more affordable. After the Senate passed a two-year, \$31.2 billion omnibus authorization bill for housing and community development programs, Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-CT) said it "marks the end of a seven-year assault on federal housing policy by the Reagan administration.... [It] will signal the start of a new era." The House passed a similar bill a month later.

The major provisions of these bills include:

- \$350 million for food and shelter grants

Continued on page 8

By David Moberg

UNPREFERRED BY FLACK THEY TOOK FOR their early endorsement of Walter Mondale, for president four years ago, the AFL-CIO unions are once again seeking unity on a favored presidential candidate. The labor federation has prepared short videotaped segments of all the Democrats and Republicans now in the running. More than 8,000 of those tapes and 10,000 longer written responses to policy questions by the candidates are now on the way to unions throughout the country as a first step in educating, then surveying, the members.

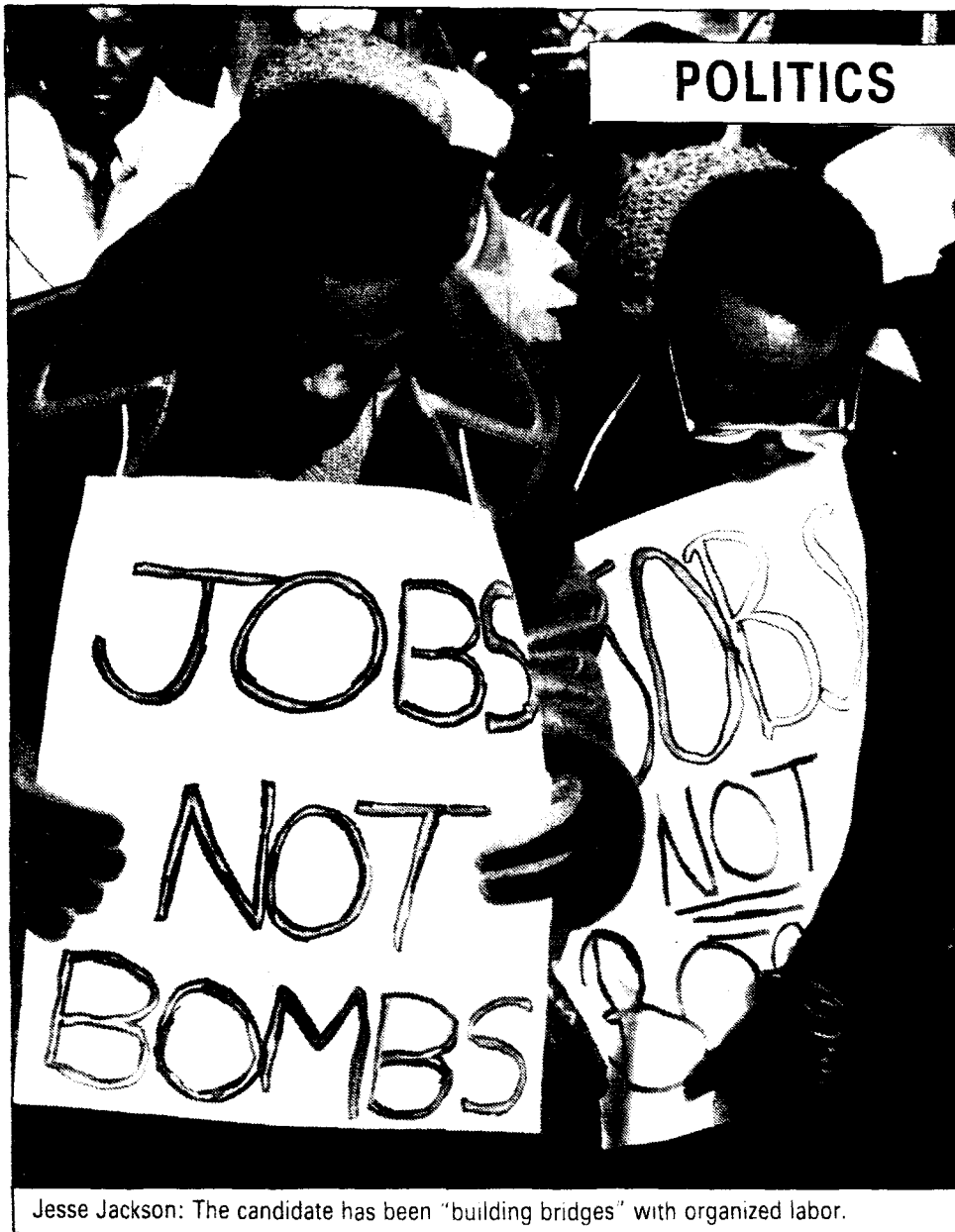
But the odds are that labor will not reach consensus by this fall on an endorsement from the crop of Democrats—all of whom are basically acceptable to labor, none of whom has a deep claim on union support. "There's not a [Democratic] candidate out there that labor would be hurt by as president," says Bricklayers political director Jean Baggett. "But none is like a Kennedy or Mondale. We just don't know them as well." The slim chance of any candidate getting two-thirds backing from labor by October is already leading many to think of alternative presidential strategies.

Off to the races: Traditionally, politically active unions have often played a role in presidential primary politics, with the AFL-CIO waiting until after the conventions to endorse the Democratic nominee. But in 1972 AFL-CIO President George Meany balked at backing anti-war nominee George McGovern. In 1976 a group of liberal unions formed the Labor Coalition Clearinghouse, United to block George Wallace, the coalition ultimately helped Jimmy Carter win the nomination.

Then in 1980 labor unions were deeply split between incumbent Carter and primary challenger Sen. Edward Kennedy. When it looked like Kennedy and Mondale, both labor favorites, would run in 1984, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland organized a unified primary endorsement to avoid inter-union bloodletting. Then Kennedy took himself out, and Mondale got the labor nod easily. Yet public suspicions about "labor bosses," heightened by criticism of labor as a "special interest" by both conservatives and liberals like challenger Gary Hart, depreciated the value of the endorsement for Mondale.

This year most unions are taking pains to provide at least the appearance of a larger membership voice in the decision in order to head off criticism. A few unions, such as the federal government employees (AFGE) and the Letter Carriers (NALC), will have direct balloting with results binding on the leaders. But most unions will use some combination of public-opinion sampling, talks with local leadership, mail-in ballots from union newspapers and polling "focus groups" to get a sense of membership attitudes before top officers make their decisions. Some unions defend use of members' opinion as only advisory on the grounds that at such an early stage it is hard for even the leaders, let alone members, to have a clear idea of the candidates. In any case, this argument goes, members look to their officers for guidance on the choice.

A Hart-less reaction: The sudden departure of Gary Hart may have shaken the rest of the party but it had little effect on union leaders. Nearly all were very cool if not downright hostile toward Hart for his 1984 "special-interest" attacks and his free-trade inclinations. But the absence of New York



Jesse Jackson: The candidate has been "building bridges" with organized labor.

Unions gear up for 1988 with no clear favorite

Gov. Mario Cuomo is felt. "With Cuomo not in, there's no one there now who could pull off an endorsement next fall," said a political organizer for a major industrial union.

Jesse Jackson, front-runner in the polls, has developed a strong relationship with many unions, including leaders who would have disdained him four years ago. "Within labor Jackson's support is probably wider than any other candidate due to his extensive exposure over the last two years," argues AFGE national political organizer Bernard Demczuk. "He's spoken with, rallied with, marched with more trade unionists than any of the candidates. His presence in virtually every state with a labor confrontation has been very well received at all levels, from international presidents down to shop-floor activists. Presidents of the Flight Attendants, Communications Workers, Steelworkers, AFSCME, AFGE and Machinists have all asked him to come to rallies where they have major confrontations with management."

Jackson's frontline involvement with workers—including urging largely black strikebreakers not to cross predominantly white strikers' picket lines in the Patrick Cudahy meatpackers' strike near Milwaukee—reflects a political shift to a broader working-class orientation. And white workers, like distressed farmers in the Midwest whom Jackson has supported, have responded enthusiastically to his message attacking the "economic violence" of corporations.

"Jesse Jackson has gone way out of his way to build bridges to organized labor and working people," said Ken Germanson, legis-

lative director of the Allied Industrial Workers. "I don't know any candidate who has put himself out so deeply. I don't know whether he's got a chance, but he's going to be very popular."

"Jackson is very definitely to be taken seriously in terms of his impact on the race," said another top industrial union strategist. "and he does raise certain issues that could force a more serious political debate than we might have otherwise." Iowa Federation of Labor (IFL) Secretary-Treasurer Mark Smith said, "If I didn't wait until September, I'd look real hard at [Illinois Sen. Paul] Simon and Jesse Jackson. They at least serve to move the debate away from the center to the left. [Simon's] at least saying there's nothing wrong with a jobs program. Jackson is addressing the right issues for [workers and farmers]. He has the ability to say where the real fight ought to be, and that's at the plant gate, where people have problems."

The big question: But the cloud hanging over Jackson is the proverbial question: can he win? That very question raises awareness of racism, argued AFGE's Demczuk. But IFL's Smith explained the dilemma of those sympathetic to Jackson's message: "I don't want to win with a loser, but I don't want to lose with a winner."

Among the rest of the pack Missouri Rep. Richard Gephardt's trade position has won strong support in some industrial unions, especially the UAW in Iowa. Delaware Sen. Joseph Biden and Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis reportedly have some building trades support. All the candidates

with a congressional voting record are in the same 80 percent range on AFL-CIO issues, but Simon has labor appeal if, as one analyst said, "he could break out of the pack." Coming from coal country of southern Illinois, he could have an edge with the Mineworkers, but his support for a balanced-budget amendment has irked public workers. The boom record of the Massachusetts economy could give Dukakis a boost. But even former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt—who angered union leaders when he called out the National Guard against copper strikers, but then won some points for successfully mediating the next round of copper negotiations—has some support. So far much of the backing reflects regional favorite-son sympathies.

Although each of the Democrats wants labor's support, Victor Kamber, public relations consultant to several unions, says, "I don't think there's any candidate with an active labor strategy to get the labor endorsement." That reflects, he says, their lack of familiarity with the unions.

Issues and the agenda: The Democratic candidates offered fairly similar answers to labor's questions. In a very crude way, Jackson and Simon might be put on the left, with Babbitt and Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore Jr. on the right, of a spectrum that is well within the liberal wing of the party. With such a fluid, acceptable field, many unions argue that they should focus on keeping issues important to workers at the forefront. That would appear to include trade and jobs, but also raising the minimum wage, supporting public education and—according to Andy Stern, assistant to Service Employees President John Sweeney—work and family issues, such as child care, parental leave and health care.

AFSCME is spending \$1 million this month and next on campaign-spot style TV ads promoting an active role for government. "It's our feeling Democrats can now favor government as a problem-solver," argues spokesman Phil Sparks. "This is the time to influence the Democratic policy agenda, and it's working." With Hart out, some unions fear Gore or Dukakis might be tempted to adopt his free-trade stance, since now all candidates accept varying degrees of managed trade.

Some union political strategists are arguing that the AFL-CIO should wait until next February to endorse if they cannot agree on a candidate in October. But delegate slates must be fielded before that in many states, and such a late endorsement would reduce labor impact. Alternatives to a unified endorsement may have to be decided by August. AFL-CIO director of Information Rex Hardesty strongly ruled out giving the labor seal of approval for several candidates, but AFSCME's Sparks and UAW spokesman Peter Laarman argue for a multicandidate strategy such as the Labor Coalition adopted in 1976. In different districts or states during that election labor candidates coalesced around different candidates. The aim of reviving the strategy would be to maximize the number of labor delegates, who might then be powerful in a brokered convention.

Even if labor fails to get a unified endorsement, union political strategists think the education and nominating process will heighten awareness of electoral politics, candidates and the issues. "There was more activity at the local level as a result of the 1984 process," argued Germanson, "and it showed in subsequent campaigns. It was important in building a stronger labor movement."

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Housing

Continued from page 6

for the homeless;

- increases of \$400 million in funding for HUD housing programs;

- the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) economic development program, which Reagan has sought to terminate, would be continued at its current level, and the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program, which Reagan wants to cut, would be continued at its current rate; and

- a total of \$100 million is authorized for the so-called "Nehemiah" program (named for a biblical prophet who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem) to build low- and moderate-income homes in depressed city areas.

Other innovations: After drifting for a period, somewhat stunned in the wake of the federal government's swift retreat from

housing problems, cities, states, churches, community groups and various non-profit organizations are now leading the effort to help solve those problems. Local governments are establishing revolving accounts for housing assistance, and encouraging many varieties of private-public partnerships to help develop low-income housing. Some states are even allocating certain tax revenues to fund their new housing programs.

In Boston, Jersey City, San Francisco and Santa Monica, Calif., officials have implemented programs requiring developers of large downtown commercial office buildings to provide low-cost housing. In San Francisco the arrangement has produced 3,793 apartments in five years.

Non-profit groups like the Baltimore-based Enterprise Foundation, the Habitat for Humanity, the New Community Corporation in New-

ark, N.J., and City Lands Corp. in Chicago are all successfully involved in new housing ventures that may presage a quantum change in the financing of low-income housing.

"There's a whole uprising out there," said James W. Rouse, founder of the Enterprise Foundation. "The country is now rethinking the whole problem and offering new solutions. It's a time of transition." Churches are also becoming more involved in housing development.

In addition to these private efforts to stimulate housing construction for poorer citizens, several states have established special accounts to provide low-cost loans and other assistance to low- and moderate-income housing. Maryland, for instance, has set up a \$38 million trust fund to grant low-interest loans to poor families that want to purchase homes. For the first time in its history, Virginia has instituted a \$45-million

housing trust fund to assist cities and non-profit groups in providing inexpensive housing. In 1985 New York established a similar fund and in 1986 the state made a separate appropriation of \$700 million to develop 40,000 low-cost units.

According to Mary K. Nenno, associate director of the housing officials' association, 12 states use this trust-fund mechanism as one of many attempts to stimulate construction of low-income housing: California, Connecticut, Florida, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Virginia and Washington.

Given the huge scope of the problem, these efforts can only have a limited impact. But when coupled with a new readiness in Congress to enlist the federal government's support on behalf of these local initiatives, the future for low-income housing looks brighter than it has in at least seven years. □

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By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

FOR THE FIRST TIME, NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT was the main issue in an election, and it won. Granted, it was a rather minor election, held on May 17 in the West German state of Rhineland-Palatinate. The issue was watered down to the "double zero option" for getting rid of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Nevertheless, it was a clear victory for nuclear disarmament.

Up to now major political parties have always preferred to keep the nuclear disarmament issue in the background of electoral campaigns. But because of the wrangling in the Bonn coalition government between Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher's Free Democratic Party (FDP) over how to react to Mikhail Gorbachov's offer to get rid of all nuclear missiles in Europe with a range of more than 500 kilometers, FDP leaders in Rhineland-Palatinate, decided to take the issue to the voters. The Free Democrats openly campaigned for the zero option.

Meanwhile, the Greens focused their campaign on protests against NATO's use of Rhineland-Palatinate as its number-one nuclear arms depot. As the least industrialized German state, it is chock full of nuclear weapons and military bases.

The anti-weapons campaign paid off for both the small parties, which gained votes at the expense of the larger parties and crossed the 5 percent hurdle to enter the state legislature. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the only party critical of the Euromissile zero option, lost its longtime absolute majority, dropping from 52 to 45 percent of the vote. Chancellor Helmut Kohl acknowledged that these "very disappointing results" in his home state were due to the nuclear-weapons debate.

Other effects: Less directly, the nuclear disarmament issue also seems to have influenced elections held the same day in Hamburg. There, too, the CDU suffered a setback, losing the slight edge it had won for the first time over the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD) last November. At that time the Greens won 10.4 percent. But this time around a third of the Greens' November supporters turned back to the SPD to save Hamburg from falling to the Christian Democrats. The drop to 7 percent was a clear rebuke to the "fundamentalists" who run the Hamburg Green-Alternative List, whose refusal to try to compromise with the SPD ruled out the possibility of a "red-green" coalition. Now Hamburg will be governed by an SPD-FDP coalition, the first renewal, on the state level, of the national coalition that fell apart when the FDP deserted Helmut Schmidt's government in Bonn in 1982.

This situation weakens Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats, whose coalition depends on the Free Democrats. The FDP's position is enhanced as the swing party in West Germany that can make or break a coalition by allying with either the SPD or the CDU. Although on economic issues the Free Democrats and the Social Democrats remain far apart, the zero option controversy has brought out that they are close together on *Ostpolitik* at a time when it is of overriding importance. Genscher and other Free Democrats are exasperated by the Christian Democrats' obstructionism.

Nuclear disarmament at the polls



Chancellor Helmut Kohl was disappointed by the CDU's election results in Rhineland-Palatinate.

The Christian Democrats around Defense Minister Manfred Wörner are feeling lonely and abused. Even at the Stavanger, Norway, NATO Nuclear Planning Group meeting—the most congenial possible setting—Wörner failed to gain the sympathetic understanding of his peers with his insistence that the "zero option" should not be extended downward to missiles in the 500-1,000 kilometer range. Judging from news reports, NATO was in unprecedented disarray at that meeting.

What's the problem? Defense ministers from the smaller NATO countries, as well as Spain and Canada, all favored the zero option and saw no sense in the German objections. The only country that might have sympathized with Wörner is France, whose attachment to nuclear independence keeps it out of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group.

Even though the NATO ministers agreed that the 72 Pershing 1A nuclear missiles in the hands of the Bundeswehr (the German military) must be exempted from the double zero option, Wörner and his colleagues left Stavanger in a foul temper. Meanwhile, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had endorsed the double zero option without waiting for the end of the NATO meeting, and the Christian Democrats were feeling betrayed and sorry for themselves.

The reasons for this funk were baffling both to their allies and to most of their fellow citizens. Things were scarcely clearer after Chancellor Kohl stamped his foot with a statement declaring that it was against German interest to negotiate only a certain range category of nuclear weapons rather than all at once. Although this might look like a call for removal of all nuclear weapons, it was in reality intended as a defense of nuclear weapons by warning the NATO allies that they were heading for denuclearization.

NATO Commander U.S. Gen. Bernard Rogers and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger did what they could to sabotage the forthcoming Reagan-Gorbachov deal by getting the Nuclear Planning Group to demand that it be extended "worldwide" and by promising "compensation" for nuclear weapons removed from the European theater. Weinberger acknowledged that this could mean putting more rather than less nuclear weapons in Europe.

From the German Defense Ministry viewpoint there seemed to be several things wrong with the "compensation" offered by Rogers and Weinberger. The most obvious thing wrong is that the Pentagon promised to "compensate" for weapons that would theoretically explode on Soviet or Polish territory with weapons whose range destined them to explode on German territory only. The zero option removes Soviet missiles that threatened all the NATO allies except Germany, which now remains as the unique target and battlefield for nuclear weapons.

By removing nuclear weapons down to the 500-kilometer range, the double zero option precludes a buildup of "deep strike" nuclear weapons. The promised "compensation" in short-range nuclear missiles is not politically feasible, as the Christian Democrats realize. There is simply not a political majority available in Germany for such a project. SPD security specialist Egon Bahr has promised that his party will put up the "stiffest resistance" in case the government should try to follow up removal of medium-range missiles with a buildup of modernized short-range missiles. And a leading FDP liberal, Gerhart Baum, has warned that a new arms buildup "cannot be done with the FDP."

The NATO Nuclear Planning Group long since decided to reduce NATO nuclear

warheads from 7,000 to 4,600 by 1988, while modernizing those that remain. If removal is underway, modernization seems less feasible. Even the 72 Pershing 1A missiles that Wörner is so anxious to hang onto will be obsolete in 1991 when their spare parts stock runs out.

Aside from a buildup of nuclear short-range tactical battlefield nuclear weapons

WEST GERMANY

in Germany. Rogers proposed putting NATO cruise missiles on ships at sea, based for instance in Scotland. The Pentagon has always wanted to deploy sea-launched cruise missiles. At sea, nuclear missiles are obviously harder to find—both for Soviet target planners and for anti-nuclear protesters—than if they are at Mutlangen or Greenham Common. The SPD suggested this years ago.

Out of control: That this failed to soothe the wrath of the Christian Democratic leaders may have something to do with the fact that sea deployment takes the missiles further than ever out of German control. This frustrates those who nurse a secret ambition to transform Germany into Western Europe's third nuclear power. Bonn cannot credibly use nuclear weapons to pursue a power policy against Eastern Europe if the only nuclear weapons it has are ones that will blow up Germany itself.

On the eve of the Stavanger meeting, the German right-wing tabloid *Bild-Zeitung* tried to scare the Western allies with a report that Gorbachov was about to propose German reunification. "Steel helmet" leader Alfred Dregger rushed to Paris to spread the rumor that Gorbachov would "undoubtedly" propose the reunification of Germany to follow up disarmament. The rumor seemed designed not only to panic the French but also to cause trouble for Gorbachov.

The Dregger and Kohl gesticulations may be the first signs of an effort to exploit a certain emerging right-wing anti-Americanism to promote an independent German defense effort. Christian Democrat parliamentary leader Volker Rühe warned that a NATO effort to deploy short-range nuclear missiles solely in Germany could psychologically decouple West Germans from NATO. "If anybody wants to strengthen neutralism in Germany, this can be a step in that direction," he warned.

Meanwhile, the allies were busy with their own domestic politics. By endorsing the double zero option, Margaret Thatcher sailed toward the June 11 elections as the leader who got cruise missiles off Greenham Common.

June 11 promises to be a busy day. That is when NATO ministers meet in Reykjavik for two days, supposedly to come up with their final recommendation on the double zero option. German conservatives seem to hope that once re-elected, Thatcher might come around to their rejectionist position. But this would mean by implication that Britain would agree to take a share of new missiles in the range of the Pershing 1A in order to "share the risk" with the German allies. British leaders don't seem willing to share the risk, least of all the political risk. □

IN THESE TIMES MAY 27-JUNE 9, 1987 9

By Vince Bielski & Dennis Bernstein

AS SECRETARY CARMAN ARAYA LEFT THE post office, she was surrounded by five Costa Rican drug agents and arrested. The package she had just picked up was found to contain a hollowed-out book filled with cocaine. Enclosed was a letter from "Tomas Borges," Nicaragua's minister of the interior, saying, "Dear Tony and Martha, sell this for me.... The *comandantes* [Sandinistas] are very happy with your mission...." The letter went on to refer to Sen. John Kerry (D-MA). For the past year Kerry, chairman of the narcotics and terrorism subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has been probing the contra cocaine connection. Also mentioned in the letter were Daniel Ortega and a man named "Pavlov."

Was *Saturday Night Live* attempting a CIA parody? No, this May 12 drug set-up was real. Its targets were journalists Tony Avirgan and Martha Honey, along with the attorneys gathering evidence for the Christic Institute's federal lawsuit alleging a contra-arms-cocaine conspiracy.

The story began May 12 when Avirgan and Honey, two of the plaintiffs in the suit, received notice that a package for them had arrived at the San Pedro post office. They sent Araya to pick it up and she was arrested.

Drug enforcement agents then went and forcibly entered Honey's home, ransacking it in their search for drugs. When Institute attorney Tom Kellenberg protested, he was arrested. Said Kellenberg: "They were going through all the rooms, saying perhaps there were traces of cocaine in the children's clothing and in their playthings."

So far, Costa Rican officials have filed no charges against Honey or Avirgan. But Kellenberg, after being struck in the face by an armed agent and spending a night in jail, has been charged with insulting a police officer.

Why is this happening? The Christic Institute believes right-wing forces in Costa Rica are trying to discredit them, and thereby shoot down their lawsuit. "The letter is a crude attempt to smear us," said Martha Honey, "and to wrap not only us, but Sen. Kerry and the Christic Institute into a drug-smuggling ring with top Sandinista officials."

The Costa Rican Democratic Association held a press conference to publicly denounce Honey and Avirgan on May 15. Orlando Castro, president of the organization, called the journalists Sandinista spies and said that he would hand proof of this to the Costa Rican government within 10 days. Visible among the file folders of proof that Castro kept closed on the table before him was the Tower Commission report. Honey fears that some of the documents may have been fabricated from letterhead stationary and other items taken from her office in a recent mysterious break-in.

Honey and Avirgan were barred from the press conference despite their standing as accredited journalists. According to Honey, the association is a CIA-front organization financed by agency money funnelled through Venezuela.

This is not the first time the social-policy law firm and the journalists have been the target of harassment in Costa Rica. In 1986 Avirgan was denied entry to the U.S. Embassy in San Jose—which has been deeply implicated in the Iran-contra scandal—on grounds he was a "communist subversive." Then last January Rev. Bill Davis, another Christic investigator, was detained for eight hours, harassed and almost forcibly de-



Contragate probers framed in Costa Rica

ported by Costa Rican drug agents. He was also told that Honey and Avirgan were "communists."

"We've been subjected to constant telephone threats, written threats and other

The Christic Institute believes right-wing forces in Costa Rica are trying to discredit them, thereby shooting down their lawsuit.

forms of intimidation," said Honey, adding that one Costa Rican associate and his family had to flee the country.

Why is their lawsuit causing so much commotion in a country that likes to think of

itself as "the Switzerland of Central America"? The suit alleges that the contras have been operating a major cocaine transshipment point in the country's northern jungles. Members of the drug conspiracy, according to the suit, also tried to assassinate renegade contra leader Eden Pastora. Instead, they killed eight bystanders, including one U.S. reporter.

Avirgan was severely hurt in the assassination attempt, and he and Honey then published an investigative report of the plot. One of the contra supporters linked in the report to both the plot and to drug trafficking is an ex-CIA operative and American farmer named John Hull.

The last link? Hull, who owns 8,000 acres with five air strips near the Nicaraguan border, says the only assistance he gives the contras is humanitarian. But he has also told a witness in the suit that the witness will be killed if he doesn't retract his testimony.

Such incidents make the reporters believe that Hull may be trying to discredit them.

The witness is British mercenary Peter Glibbery, who has provided evidence to the law firm and the U.S. Justice Department that Hull is the last link in the White House's arms supply line to the contras. In April Hull stormed into a Costa Rican prison where Glibbery is being held for his mercenary activities and threatened the federal witness with death if he didn't sign an affidavit saying the reporters bribed him to talk.

Although the Christic Institute has no evidence that Hull is behind the drug setup, it is clear that the witnesses in the suit have made a very damaging case against Hull, one of 29 defendants. And a federal judge in Miami recently gave a boost to the suit's credibility when he denied a defense motion to dismiss it for lack of evidence.

The suit will be heard in 1988. In the meantime, for Honey and Avirgan, the threats continue. In the wake of the setup, Vilio Fernando, a high-ranking official in the Costa Rican legislature, called for their immediate expulsion for "denigrating the good name of Costa Rica."

Vince Bielski and Dennis Bernstein report regularly for *In These Times*. Pacific News Service originally distributed a version of this story.

The Mexican connection: another piece in the complex Iran-contra puzzle

By Mike Tangeman

MEXICO CITY

A MEXICAN CONNECTION IN THE IRAN-contra scandal, long suspected by observers here, is now coming to light.

As the pieces of the puzzle fall together, evidence shows that leaders of the conservative National Action Party (PAN), former Nicaraguan businessmen now in exile in Mexico and a shadowy Israeli arms dealer are all involved in some way in Mexico's contragate connection.

A prominent leader of the conservative opposition PAN, Ricardo Villa Escalera, confirmed last week in interviews with a Mexican newspaper that a May 10 report in the *Miami Herald* alleging he had met in Washington, D.C. in August with convicted private-sector contra fund-raiser Carl Channell was true.

"I met several times with Channell and his people, in his offices on Connecticut Street in Washington," Villa told the newspaper *La Jornada*, contradicting earlier denials by the party's national committee that any PAN leaders had associated with Channell.

According to the *Herald* report, memos written by Channell's secretary indicate that he spoke with the PAN leader about the possibility of raising \$210,000 for the contras from Mexican businessmen who support the opposition party here. But Villa denied that the matter was ever discussed in the meeting, claiming that he approached Channell for help in publicizing in the U.S. the alleged electoral fraud in Mexico.

Villa, a former PAN candidate for governor in the state of Puebla, also named the party's ex-candidate for governor in the state of Nuevo Leon, Alfredo Corella, as one of the two other prominent party leaders who met with Channell.

The PAN was buffeted May 13 by heavy criticism in the national congress because party involvement would run contrary to Mexico's official position against outside funding of irregular forces in Central America. But the conservative party's leadership claimed it had no knowledge of the meetings and that Villa was not authorized to represent the party abroad.

The Mexican newspaper also reported that former Sandinista ambassador to Mexico, Carlos Gutierrez Sotelo, who is now sympathetic to the contras and lives in Mexico City, was recently approached by contra leader Adolfo Calero's Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) about setting up a front company in Mexico to handle transfer of funds to the contras in Honduras.

Both *La Jornada* and the weekly news magazine *Proceso* have also pointed to former Nicaraguan businessman Jaime Morales Carazo as the contras' link to conservative Mexican businessmen. Morales, who is now a naturalized Mexican citizen, is the brother of José Morales Carazo, who is contra leader Calero's lawyer and reportedly has been called to testify before U.S. Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh several times on the Iran-contra arms deal.

Ties that bind: Behind the scenes, however, hovers an Israeli arms dealer with a long history in Mexico and Central America who has been named in a U.S. State Department report cited by the *Miami Herald* in

November as one of two men who served as couriers in the transfer of monies from the Iran arms sale from a Caribbean bank account to contra leaders in Honduras. According to the unconfirmed report, Israeli arms dealers David Marcos Katz and Pesah Ben Or personally carried the funds from a Caribbean island to contra leaders in Honduras.

Katz reportedly maintains a home in Israel, but is a long-time resident of Mexico with business and family ties here. According to a source who has checked on Katz through his acquaintances in Israel, the arms dealer is a member of the conservative Gush Emunim sect and has operated out of Mexico for at least the past 10 years as regional representative of several Israeli defense companies and arms manufacturers, including the prestigious Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI).

According to a source in the U.S. familiar with Israeli activities in Central America, Katz has top-level contacts with both the Honduran and Mexican military; his ties with the latter reportedly allow him to operate from Mexico with impunity, despite the country's official position of neutrality in the region's armed conflicts.

Katz was reportedly the intermediary in the sale to dictator Anastasio Somoza in the late '70s of Arava 201 short takeoff and landing planes (STOL) for counterinsurgency operations against the Sandinistas. The source

also said that Katz allegedly earns a 15 percent commission off all Israeli arms sales he makes in the region, and that a plastics firm Katz owns on the outskirts of Mexico City serves as a front for his arms deals.

A secretary at the Mexico City plastics firm Industria Mexicana de Plasticos Olimpia confirmed when contacted by telephone that Katz was the owner, but said he was unavailable to talk to a reporter.

A middle Eastern diplomatic source here, who keeps tabs on Israeli activities in the region, said that Katz "is either Mexican with an Israeli passport or he's a naturalized Is-

The trail leads to former Nicaraguan businessmen and an Israeli arms dealer.

raeli." Other sources familiar with Katz said they believe he is Israeli.

According to the Middle Eastern source who requested anonymity, in the late '70s Katz operated out of an office in the plush Polanco district of Mexico City. At that time the Mexican government was involved in negotiations with Israel for construction of an IAI plant in Mexico "for the manufacture of Israeli Kfir fighter planes and Katz was involved in that," said the source.

Going back: A search through old Mexican press clippings revealed the Polanco office to have been IAI's regional headquarters. Leaders of the left Socialist Workers Party got wind of the operation and denounced it in a September 1978 press conference as a violation of Mexican neutrality because of the reported sale to Somoza of the Arava aircraft. The office was subsequently closed and the aircraft plant was never built here.

In January 1981, after IAI director Rafael Gidor visited Mexico, a Mexican military mission led by then Defense Secretary Gen. Felix Galvan traveled to Israel to look into the possible purchase of Kfir fighters. One former top-ranking officer who was part of the delegation said he met Katz "while he was guiding us around the [IAI] installations. He spoke perfect Spanish, but I couldn't tell you if he was Mexican or Israeli...."

According to the former officer, Katz also met with the delegation on other occasions and appeared to be the go-between in the deal, which eventually fell through when Mexico decided to purchase F5 fighters from the U.S. instead.

Since his dealings with the Mexican military Katz's more recent activities may have included a role in the construction of an Israeli arms factory in Guatemala in the early '80s, according to knowledgeable sources here. One of those sources said Katz not only has strong ties to the Honduran military, but also reportedly is on very good terms with Calero's FDN lieutenants in Honduras.

"If anyone were to be involved in carrying that money to them it would be someone like Katz," he said.

Mike Tangeman is *In These Times'* correspondent in Mexico.

Contras warn internationalists: Ben Linder's fate could be yours

By Daniel Lazare & Jim Naureckas

IN THE WAKE OF BENJAMIN LINDER'S DEATH, THE contras continue to threaten U.S. citizens living in Nicaragua, according to testimony presented to a congressional subcommittee on May 14.

Mary Risacher, a U.S. citizen working in Matagalpa, Nicaragua, testified before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Western Hemispheric Affairs that days after Linder, an engineer working on a hydroelectric project in Nicaragua, had been killed in a contra attack, the contras broadcast this

Former contra leader Edgar Chamorro explained the contras' new policy this way: "The CIA has decided to kill people working for the Nicaraguan government."

message after attacking a police station in the Nicaraguan village of San Dionisio: "People of San Dionisio, don't walk near the police station, don't walk down the street with a soldier and don't walk down the street with an international worker. It could be dangerous for you."

The message, Risacher said, was broadcast over Radio Liberacion, a contra radio station believed to broadcast from El Salvador. The station began broadcasting in January 1987, soon after the CIA resumed day-to-day supervision of the contra operation.

Enemy nuns: Last year the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the largest contra military force and the one most closely linked to the U.S., adopted a policy of treating development foreign workers as "part of the enemy."

Frank Arana, a contra spokesman believed to play a major role at Radio Liberacion, announced in May 1986 that "any foreigner who voluntarily aids in development and reconstruction projects is considered an enemy."

The contras have used their radio stations for threats against U.S. citizens before. One Catholic churchwoman said she was called "a Communist red nun" and that her car's make and license-plate number were read over the air. But the message broadcast over Radio Liberacion is the first reported threat to foreign workers since Linder was killed.

The broadcast raises questions about the U.S. government's role in Linder's death. Edgar Chamorro, who ran the contras' Fifteenth of September radio station from 1982 to 1984 when he was director of communications for the FDN, told *In These Times* that the CIA always closely supervised day-to-day operations of contra broadcasts. "Everything was very specifically controlled, not only the content but the form, the amount of music,

the editorials, facts and opinions—all were totally managed by the CIA."

When asked whether the contras could have broadcast a threat against U.S. citizens without CIA approval, Chamorro replied, "The control is so tight that something like that would not be possible."

Chamorro said that the killing and the FDN's unapologetic admission of responsibility showed a change in policy by the CIA. "A message was sent by this killing, or assassination, to American internationalists working for the Sandinistas," he said. "The CIA had decided to kill people working for the Nicaraguan government."

A target, not a casualty: Mary Risacher, a nurse who examined Linder's body after his death, also confirmed in her testimony a Nicaraguan coroner's report that Linder was not killed by a hand grenade, as was first reported, but was shot in the head at close range after being wounded. This supports allegations made by associates of Linder that he had been targeted by the contras and was not just an accidental casualty of war.

Rep. Les AuCoin (D-OR), the congressman from Linder's home district, has asked Secretary of State George Shultz to launch a full investigation of the circumstances surrounding Linder's death. But a State Department official said that the U.S. would not be doing its own research on the case. "The U.S. has not sent officers in to investigate because it is a war zone," the official said. But she said a full investigation would be carried out by the Nicaraguan Association for Human Rights—the contra human rights organization.

Daniel Lazare and **Jim Naureckas** both write regularly for *In These Times*.

IN THESE TIMES MAY 27-JUNE 9, 1987 11

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By Murray Waas

WASHINGTON

WHEN ATTORNEY GENERAL EDWIN Meese held his now-historic press conference last November 25 at which he disclosed the diversion of the profits from U.S. arms sales to Iran, he firmly asserted that Lt. Col. Oliver North was the only individual who "knew precisely" about the diversion. Former National Security Council (NSC) advisers Robert McFarlane and Admiral John Poindexter were the only other officials in the Reagan administration who were aware there was a diversion and even they had only limited knowledge about it. The wrongdoing, Meese assured the nation, stopped there.

But in the months that have followed, after investigations by the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Intelligence Committees, the Tower Commission report and press accounts, a different story is emerging: the diversion of Iranian arms sales to the contras was only one of dozens of potentially illegal acts that senior administration officials were involved in to support the Nicaraguan contras at a time that federal law explicitly prohibited such activity. And such lawbreaking went far beyond just the National Security Council and its staff: emerging evidence—confirmed in part by the first couple of weeks of the joint congressional hearings on the Iran-contra scandal—show a pervasive conspiracy by many of President Reagan's top aides in the State Department, the Defense Department, the CIA and the Office of the Vice President to circumvent and, in some cases, directly violate the law. Attorney General Meese and senior aides in the Justice Department also acted to stifle and obstruct investigations that would

With so many of his top aides already implicated in the conspiracy—the late CIA Director William Casey, Meese, Poindexter and McFarlane—and Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams—an obvious question arises: could so many of the president's men be involved in circumventing and violating the law without Ronald Reagan's approval, or at least his contemporaneous knowledge of their efforts? Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, the select congressional committees and the American people will undoubtedly focus on the answer to that question in the weeks and months ahead.

Since the administration first began its covert war against the Sandinistas, Congress had placed various restrictions on those covert operations. The law that was broken so often and brazenly by the Reagan administration is commonly referred to as "The Second" Boland Amendment.

But following the disclosures of the covert CIA mailing of Nicaraguan harbors and the existence of a manual prepared by the CIA advocating that the contras "liquidate" Sandinista officials, Congress placed its most severe restrictions on the administration's activities in support of the contra war.

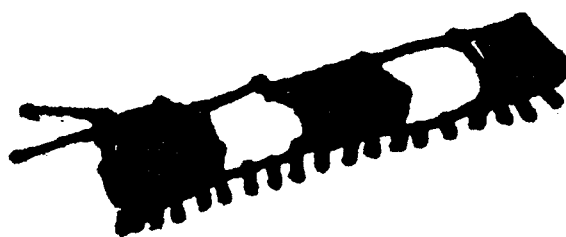
The amendment drafted by Rep. Edward Boland (D-MA) to the 1985 Defense Department's Appropriation Act stated: "During fiscal year 1985, no funds available to the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, or any other agency or entity of the United States involved in intelligence activities may be obligated or expended for the purpose of which would have the effect of supporting, directly or indirectly, military or paramilitary operations" against the Sandinista government.

Senior Reagan administration officials

Miles DeCoster



Give



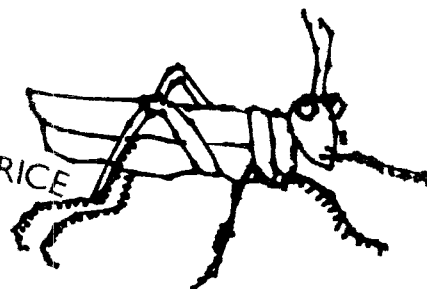
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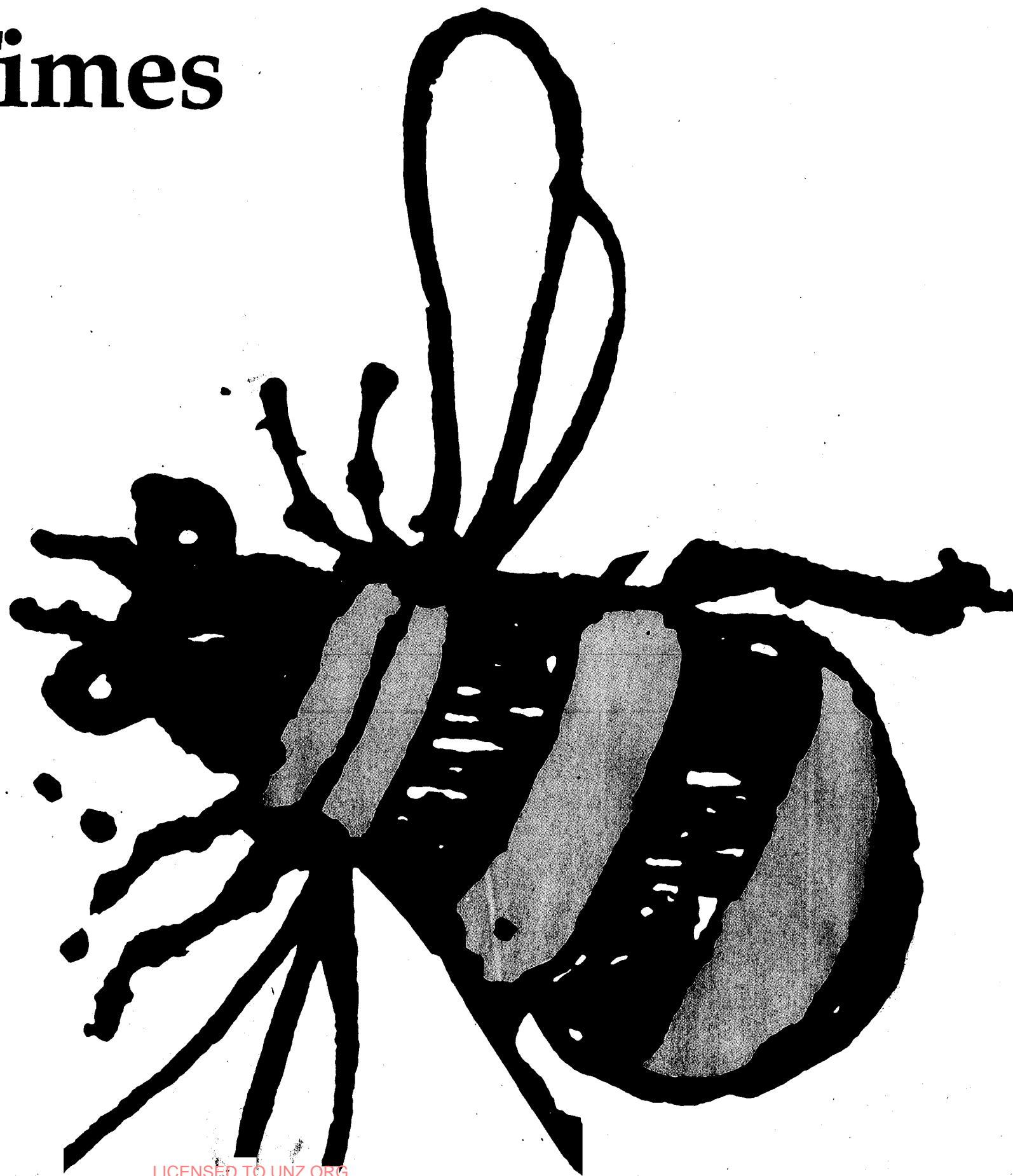
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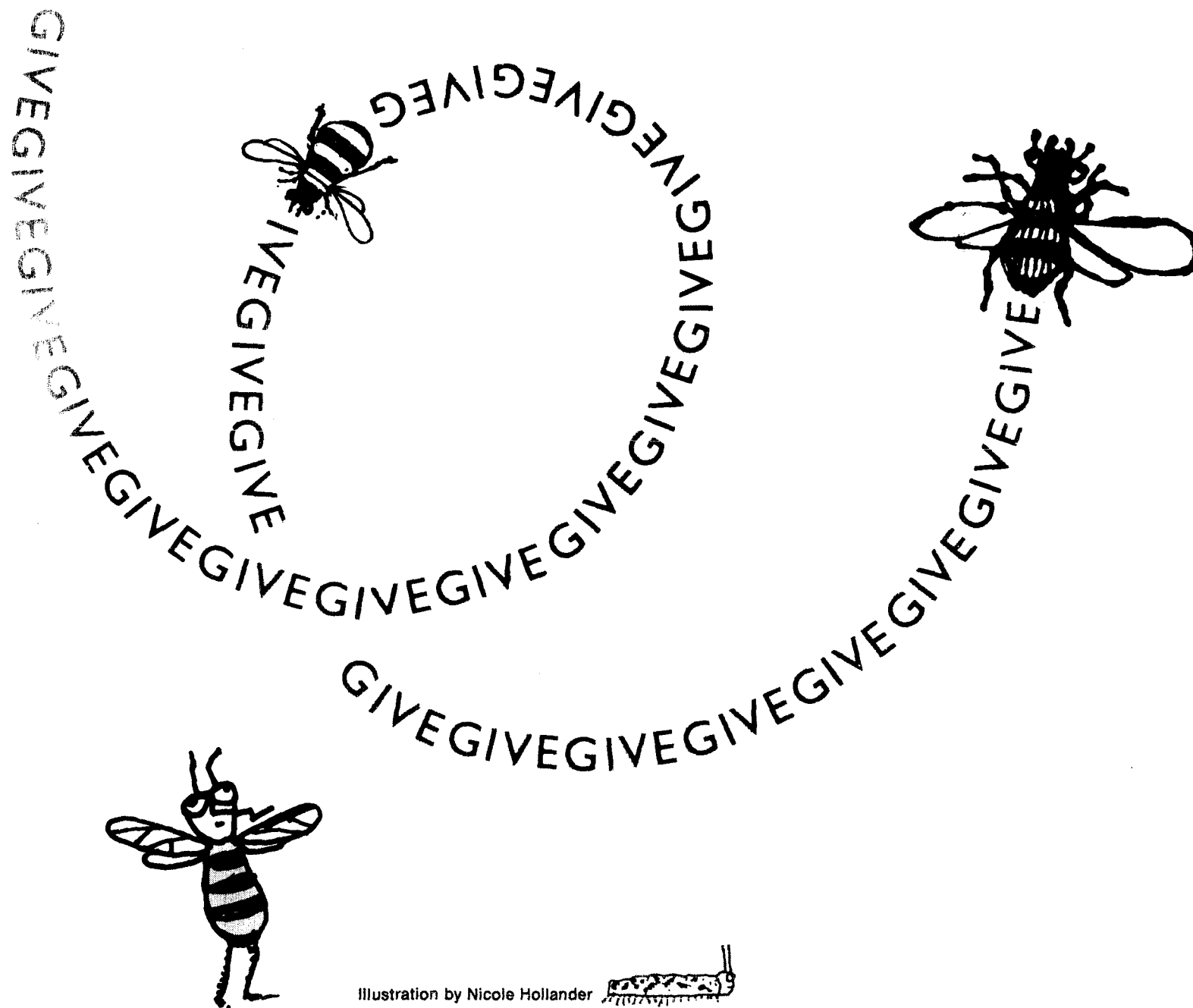


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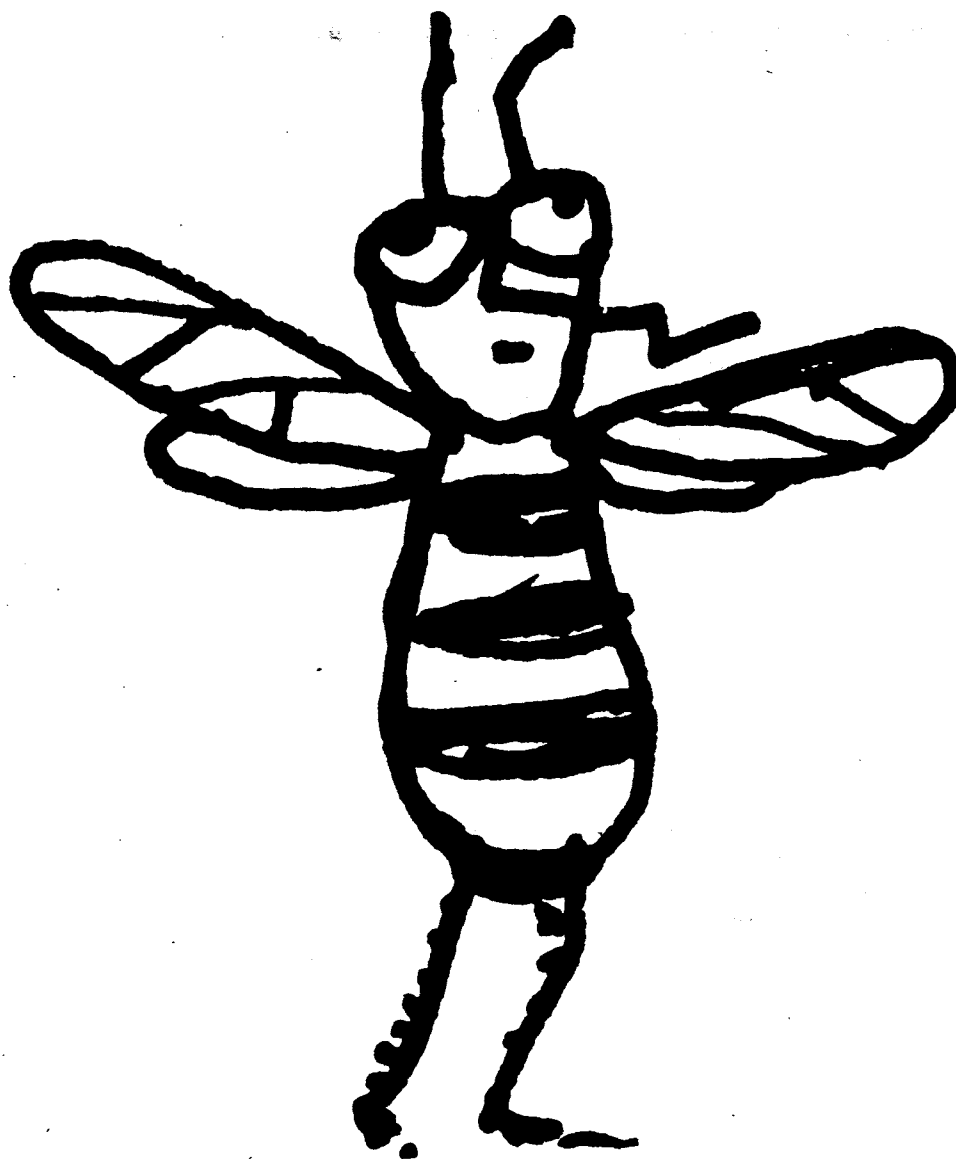
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simply made a conscious decision to circumvent, ignore or violate the law. (Although the Boland Amendment is often referred to in the press as a "congressional ban," it is actually a law: when President Reagan signed the 1985 Defense Appropriations Act into law, the Boland Amendment was part of it.)

Such pervasive disregard of the law by so many top Reagan administration officials suggests that the current contra scandal may even rival Richard Nixon's constitutional lawbreaking. The Constitution provides that the "executive branch shall faithfully execute the laws of the United States." There can be no greater threat to our system of constitutional government than a president who unilaterally decides which laws he wishes to execute and which to ignore.

Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), who as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee during its hearings to decide whether to impeach Nixon, is now also a member of the House Select Committee on the Iran-contra scandal. During the first day of the hearings,

REAGAN GATE

he pointed out obvious similarities of the two scandals:

"The fundamental questions posed, just as in the Watergate crisis have to do with the executive's misunderstanding of the rule of law. Nothing undermines our representative system of government more than actions taken by officials entrusted with the reins of government, which even for purposes believed to be good, are designed to set aside the law, distort or ignore it.... Only our adherence to the rule of law can, in the end, restore the people's trust which has been so sorely impaired."

Rodino reflected back on "that moment in history when Benjamin Franklin was asked by Mrs. Powell of Pennsylvania, 'What have you given us, doctor—a monarchy or a republic?' Franklin replied, 'A republic, if you can keep it.' As Rodino intoned: "Franklin's warning is more than historical rhetoric."

A law unto itself: With the Reagan administration's purposeful violation of the Boland Amendment, the nation inched toward a monarchy. A compliant Congress and subservient press led to an atmosphere where the Reagan administration could violate the law with impunity for more than two years and allow the executive branch of government to be a law unto itself.

Despite the fact that most Americans learned about the contra scandal for the first time last November 25, many of the details—indeed, a fairly documented outline—were detailed in the last couple of years by a handful of mainstream reporters: Robert Parry and Brian Barger of the Associated Press, Newt Rewce of Scripps-Howard newspaper chain and the *Miami Herald*. But the nation's largest and most influential news organizations—the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, all three television networks—for the most part ignored those stories and the American people were kept in the dark about the fact that they were facing one of the most serious constitutional crises of this century.

Congress also failed to engage in responsible oversight of the executive branch when these initial press reports appeared. Two

powerful chairmen of congressional committees, Rep. Michael Barnes (D-MD), chairman of the House foreign affairs subcommittee on western hemispheric affairs, and Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, inquired as to whether allegations that North was helping the contras during the time the Boland Amendment forbid such activity were correct. The two committee chairmen simply accepted McFarlane's word after he sent them letters certifying that there was absolutely no wrongdoing.

As allegations to the contrary persisted, Barnes asked to review pertinent NSC files relating to North's activities on behalf of the contras. In anticipation of such an examination, according to McFarlane's recent congressional testimony, North altered NSC files to remove references about any possible violations of the law. In addition, high-level administration officials told *In These Times* that McFarlane discussed the possibility he might provide the altered documents to Barnes' subcommittee with other White House officials. But after only mild protestations from the White House, Barnes did not press on with his request and Congress never saw the documents.

The House Intelligence Committee's "investigation" into the matter was no more aggressive. On Aug. 6, 1986, North was informally asked by the Intelligence Committee if he was abiding by the Boland Amendment. The committee did not order him to testify, put him under oath, conduct any further investigation or subpoena any documents. The panel simply conducted an informal interview with North and accepted his word that had done nothing wrong. Under the circumstances, all North had to do was lie, as he later recounted in an internal NSC computer message to his boss, NSC adviser Poin-dexter. In the memo, North related that he told the committee "he gave no military advice" to the contras; he had "no contacts with Ret. Gen. John Singlaub," North's chief fund-raiser for the contras; and "never provided...guidance" to Robert Owen, who testified in mid-May before the Iran-contra committee that he served as North's chief intermediary with the contra leadership during a two-year period. All of these statements, thanks to the Tower Commission and recent testimony before the select congressional committees, have proven bald-faced lies.

Unlike the Watergate scandal, which was exposed by an aggressive press, the Iran-contra scandal became known because of macabre events such as the report in the Lebanese newspaper first revealing the shipments of U.S. arms to the Khomeini regime and the fact that when North was shredding his files, he accidentally missed the most incriminating document of them all, the memo discussing the now-infamous diversion. A press that failed to exercise its watchdog responsibility and a Congress that did not appropriately execute its oversight function almost allowed the Reagan administration to get away with its crimes.

In the beginning: The illegal efforts to aid the contra cause during the time the Boland Amendment was in place apparently began and were centered in the National Security Council, as has been widely reported.

The Reagan administration is now apparently planning to use a novel legal defense in case it is shown that the president approved of the diversion of Iranian arms profits to the contras or other potentially illegal contra support activities during the time the Boland Amendment was in place. The admin-

istration will argue that the NSC's activities were not covered by the Boland Amendment because the NSC is not "an agency or entity of the United States involved in intelligence activities."

The president himself told magazine editors recently "there is nothing in the law [the Boland Amendment] that prevents citizens—individuals or groups—from offering aid [to the Nicaraguan rebels]...and my interpretation was that it was not restrictive on the national security adviser or National Security Council.... I believe the NSC is not an intelligence operation; it's simply advisory to me. And there is nothing that has ever been in the Boland Amendment that could keep me from asking other people to help."

But congressional critics and many legal experts say such a defense has little validity. Even McFarlane admitted under questioning—by none other than Rep. Boland himself—that the NSC was indeed an agency involved in intelligence activities and thus its activities were restricted under the law.

McFarlane himself referred to Executive Order 12333 signed by President Reagan in 1981—which designated the "NSC...as the highest executive branch entity that provides review of, guidance for, and direction to the conduct of all national and foreign intelligence [and] counterintelligence."

Even if a case could be made that the NSC was not covered by the Boland Amendment, evidence made public during the first weeks of select committee hearings—as well as other emerging evidence—shows that senior officials belonging to every executive agency that is part of the Reagan administration's national security apparatus were also involved in activities that supported the contras militarily and violated the law.

The State Department: In his testimony Ret. Air Force Gen. Richard Secord—who for a 10-month period at North's direction oversaw an illegal aerial network to supply weapons and lethal supplies to the contras—said he received help from two of the Reagan administration's ambassadors in Central America: Edwin Corr, ambassador to El Salvador, and Lewis Tambs, at the time ambassador to Costa Rica.

Secord testified that Tambs was particularly helpful in helping him secure permission from the Costa Rican government to build a 6,000-foot air strip near the Nicaraguan border for use by the network. Secord said that some of the C-123 cargo planes in his aerial network took "nine hours or more [to reach contra camps inside Nicaragua]... and in order to do this on a sustained basis, it was my firm belief we had to have an emergency landing field in Costa Rica."

When Secord was asked by House Counsel John Nields whether he received "any help from any officials of the U.S. government in getting [the] air strip," he replied: "Yes, the U.S. ambassador was very supportive.... That was Mr. Tambs...[and then CIA Chief in Costa Rica Joseph Fernandez] were giving us the right advice and the right contacts, and trying to be helpful."

Tambs reportedly told investigators for the Tower Commission, the select Iran-contra congressional committee and Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh that he was being directed by Reagan administration officials, particularly Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, who vehemently denied the charges.

Tambs, now a professor of history at Arizona State University, has also repeated his charge in public. In a May 3, 1987, interview with the *New York Times*, Tambs said his

activities in support of the contra arms resupply network were directed by the Restricted Interagency Group ("RIG"), an informal interagency group on contra policy. Tambs said RIG's key officials were North, Fiers and Abrams, who chaired the committee.

Tambs lamented that the three men were only "trying to save their jobs. Now the people who gave us the orders are trying to paint us as running amok."

The Central Intelligence Agency: Secord testified that he had three personal meetings with the late CIA Director William Casey during the time Secord was setting up and later running his aerial resupply network for the contras. Secord said Casey encouraged his efforts despite the legal prohibitions then in place through the Boland Amendment.

Secord testified that his first meeting with Casey took place as he was setting up the network just before Christmas 1985. The 45-minute meeting was set up by North.

Secord said that he learned that Casey was "well aware that we were cranking up this airlift operation, was in favor of it, knew of its importance.... He said I had his admiration and asked what he could do." Secord replied he needed "intelligence information" to facilitate flights, but that Casey was "non-committal" about helping. Similarly, Secord testified, Casey was noncommittal about offering help in subsequent meetings between the two men in February and May 1986.

But after those meetings, CIA officials in the field—who previously had been only monitoring the airlift—then became actively involved in helping it. Among those who assisted in the arms smuggling efforts, Secord testified, was the senior CIA officer in Honduras. "He or his staff intervened sometimes with the FDN [the main contra contingent] to try and resolve...problems that developed when we were trying to deliver items to the Southern front. We occasionally were able to get some support from the CIA in resolving these disputes."

The CIA station chief in Costa Rica, Joseph Fernandez—then using the pseudonym Tomas Castillo—also became instrumental in helping the network, according to Secord. Additional evidence presented by the Tower Commission shows that Fernandez regularly communicated with North in helping the aerial network with an encryption device supplied by the National Security Agency. In some cases Fernandez personally directed where some arms shipments be sent.

"When and where do you want this stuff?" Fernandez asked North about one arms shipment in one decoded message. "We are prepared to deliver as soon as you call for it."

Fernandez was suspended from his post after the Tower Commission confirmed his role in helping the aerial network and the CIA portrayed him as a rogue agent. But he later testified before Congress that he was only acting on orders from his supervisors, the CIA's Central American Task Force chief, Alan Fiers, and Clair George, the agency's covert operations chief. George is one of the CIA's top officials and reported directly almost daily to Casey.

Federal and congressional investigators say they have uncovered substantial evidence that Casey was helping North run his illegal contra operation and the aerial resupply network. Indeed, some members of the Iran-contra committee now say they believe that Casey was the "mastermind" of the entire contra operation, and that North was reporting directly to the CIA director.

This possibility came up during McFar-

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EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

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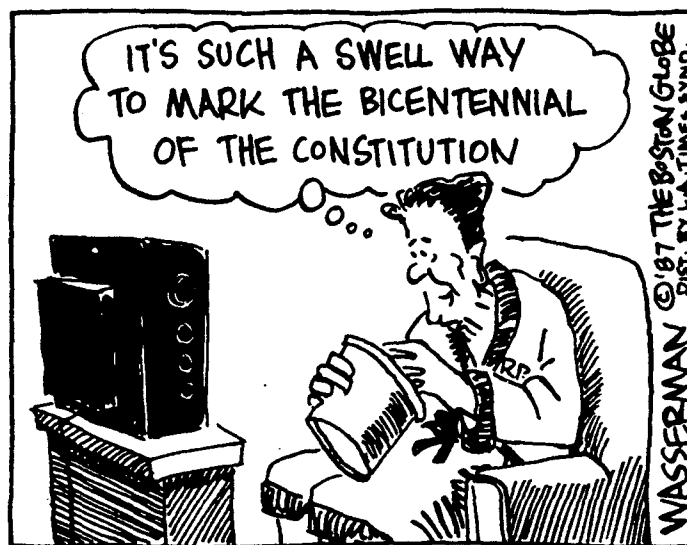
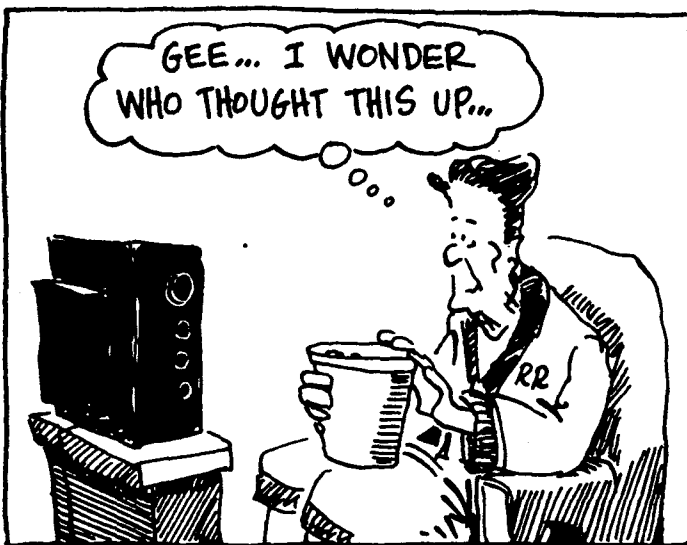
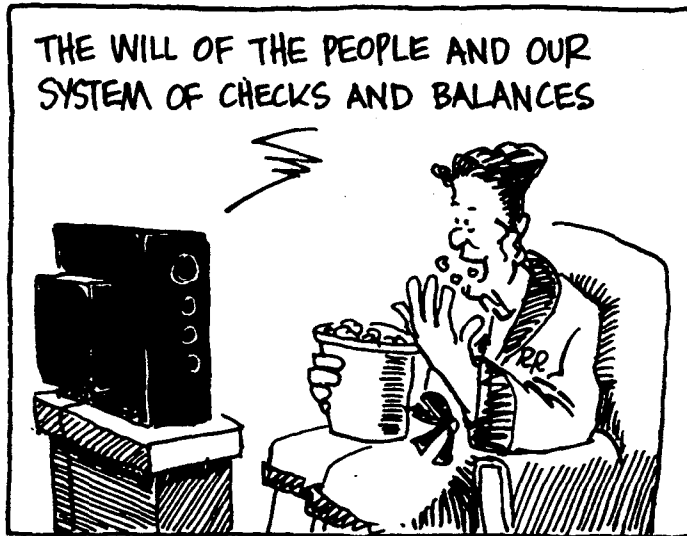
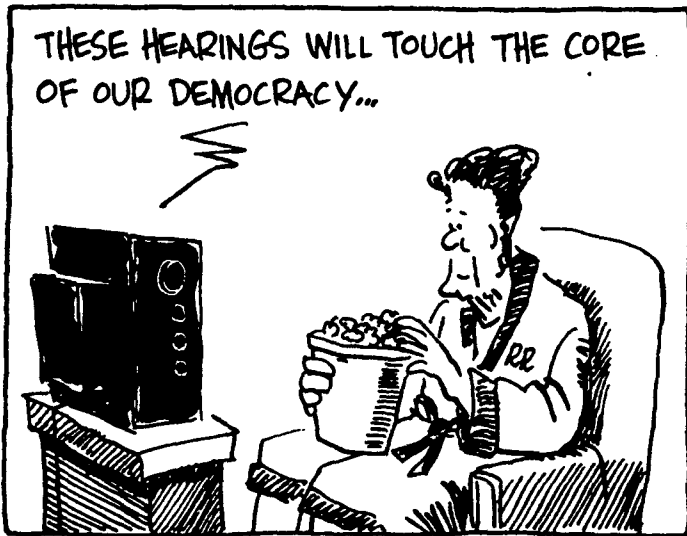
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Reagan's contra fallback may crush Constitution

"A constitution," Thomas Paine wrote in *The Rights of Man*, "is the property of a nation, and not of those who exercise the government." Having won independence from Britain in the Revolutionary War, he meant, the Constitution was a guarantee against the re-emergence of a monarchy. Those who filled the offices created by the Constitution were to be the servants of the nation, not its masters.

And under the Constitution—which, on this side of the Atlantic, culminated the long struggle for parliamentary supremacy over the monarchy that had raged for more than a century in England—it was the legislature's right to decide how much the government should spend and for what purposes. The framers of our Constitution unambiguously determined that this function belonged in Congress, specifically in the House of Representatives, then the only branch of government directly elected by the people. Congress was to raise and appropriate money. The president was to see that congressional mandates—in the form of laws—were faithfully executed.

Since it was adopted in 1787, presidents have occasionally exceeded their authority under the Constitution—especially in time of war. But none has ever defended himself on the ground that he was a law unto himself. Yet that is precisely the position already being asserted by some of Ronald Reagan's more conservative defenders. And it is clearly the legal defense he is being prepared for.

Perfectly clear: On the constitutional question there can be no doubt. Thirty-five years ago, during the Korean War, the Supreme Court faced an analogous question when President Harry Truman seized the nation's steel mills to prevent a strike. The Court reversed his action, saying he had no inherent "war power" to do what Congress had not authorized when the nation was not—technically—at war.

This same issue came up during the Vietnam War, but in reverse. Then, when opponents of the war argued that it was an illegal action—because there had been no congressional declaration of war—both Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon argued that Congress had supported the war by appropriating funds. And it could always limit both the funds and their use, which the Congress did.

But Reagan is now being forced into a position of arguing that his illegal activities were simply an exercise of his powers as commander-in-chief because every other defense mounted against the reluctant attacks of the media and Congress have crumbled, leaving a trail of sleaze unprecedented—at least so close to the president—in American political history.

Since 1984, when anyone who cared to know knew that the Reagan administration was breaking the law by aiding the contras, the White House kept issuing denials of involvement, along with promises that both the letter and spirit of the law were being scrupulously observed. The first shift came in August 1985, after news reports revealed that Lt. Col. Oliver North was directly involved in soliciting funds for the contras. White House spokesman Larry Speakes then admitted that Reagan was fully aware of this, but the president claimed, "We're not violating any laws."

The long march: This process, of course, continued after the November revelations about arms sales to the Iranians and the diversion of profits to the contras. Reagan knew nothing, he said—adding that he was waiting for the investigations to tell him how much he knew. As it has turned out, the investigations have revealed that he knew it all. And step-by-step admissions have dribbled out, the latest being his May 15 admission that "I've known what's going on there, as a matter of fact, for quite a long time now, a matter of years." Private aid to the contras, he added, "was my idea to begin with."

Even as he was admitting this, Reagan denied Robert McFarlane's testimony indicating that he had asked Saudi Arabia's King Fahd to give money to the contras. Forced by documentary evidence to admit that he had met with Fahd just before the Saudis' contributions of \$1 million per month were increased to \$2 million per month, Reagan insisted it was all Fahd's idea. But as we went to press, Ret. Gen. John Singlaub testified that he had been sent to ask officials of various countries to provide guns, ammunition and money for air defense missiles for the contras in 1986 by Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Elliott Abrams. When he returned from his trip, however, Abrams said the plan had been called off because "the solicitation was going to be handled by someone at the highest level." That leaves Reagan with nothing but his claim to monarchical powers to fall back on.

But, as even the *New York Times* is now pointing out, if Reagan is not bound by the Boland Amendment, why did he take such pains to say he didn't violate it in his conversations with King Fahd?

In short, we are now at the end of the line. The question remaining is whether Congress and the media will oppose the administration's attempt to redefine the powers of the presidency, or whether they will surrender the Constitution to Reagan, thereby ending 200 years of democratic government in the United States.

Small Change

The Iran-contra hearings have thus far contained many absurdities, perhaps none more spine-chilling than Robert McFarlane's invocation of Oliver North's overwhelming concern for human liberty in Nicaragua. But one of the most obviously preposterous claims thus far attracted no comment.

In the midst of McFarlane's testimony Sen. Daniel Inouye suddenly announced that the strange affair of the missing \$10 million had been solved. He was referring to one of the dollar transfers from the Saudi royal family to a bank account in Switzerland controlled by Oliver North. Inouye explained that North had given the wrong account number to the donors, transposing two of the digits. The money had ended up in the account of a shipping tycoon in Switzerland and had now been frozen. Mystery solved, with laughs all around.

Thus we are asked to believe that at a time when North courier Robert Owen was cashing traveller's checks worth only a few thousand dollars and hand-carrying the money down to Central America, no one—neither North nor the contras—noticed that their funds were \$10 million short. And since this is precisely what we are asked to believe, we therefore have to accept the proposition that either (a) there was too much money in the account for \$10 million to be a significant item, or (b) so much was being stolen from the account than \$10 million was just one more drop from a constantly leaking bucket.

The Smoking Gun That Doesn't Smoke (Continued)

The hearings are frustrating—much more so than their Watergate equivalent—because their structure permits no sustained offensive. On his first day of testimony Richard Secord revealed that North had told him of the good laughs he, North and President Reagan had enjoyed at the notion of the Ayatollah Khomeini arming the contras. Secord added that he had not taken North's disclosure as a joke. But there was no immediate follow-up and when Secord was asked about the matter the next day, he was able to back-track and say that he had felt "skeptical" of this report.

Similar missed opportunities occurred in McFarlane's testimony. His revelation that North had invited him to "a shredding party" was not immediately pounced upon, nor was his casual remark that President Reagan's interpretation of the Boland Amendment was much more "liberal" than his own. In both instances McFarlane was allowed time to prepare his defenses before undergoing serious interrogation on either of these matters.

These failures are indications of the real effect of the hearings. The supposition is that they constitute an investigation, rolling along the twin rails of deduction and induction toward an answer to the question: did President Reagan personally authorize the Iran-contra shuttle and did he maintain hands-on supervision of the scheme? Thus, at the end of each bout of interrogation of each witness the press solemnly concludes that, as yet, no "smoking gun" has been unearthed.

What is actually going on is something

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



akin to vaccination against disease. Vaccination is essentially a process of habituation, in which the patients are inoculated with safe doses of the disease against which they are to be protected. Thus, in the case of the Iran-contra scandal the public has to be inoculated against the idea that the president is a liar who knowingly broke the law over a protracted period. Inoculation takes the form of revealing that the president is indeed a criminal liar while at the same time stoutly maintaining that no proofs are available for this conclusion.

The first stage in this particular program of vaccination was the report of the Tower Commission. It published abundant material showing that the president had day-to-day knowledge of the illegal activities and authorized them. Simultaneously the commissioners and the press announced that the report showed that the president did

not have day-to-day knowledge of the illegal activities and did not authorize them. Thus we have the familiar spectacle of the politicians, editorialists and commentators examining a gun from whose barrel smoke is visibly extruding while unanimously announcing that the weapon has not been fired in years.

So Secord's and North's testimony, seeing between frank admission and coy retraction, slowly habituates the public that, although the president knew everything, he yet knew nothing. The end result will be a conditioned response wherein North will say he spent 10 minutes a day with the president getting authorizations for each weapon and dollar transfer. The White House will issue a denial and the Congress and the press will agree that the S.G. is nowhere in sight.

This is what happened in the Watergate

investigations, and by midsummer of 1974, after an avalanche of evidence of Nixon's guilt, *Time* solemnly asked the question: is the press going too far? and answered yes. Then a tape surfaced that was so incriminating, so palpably the S.G., that all normal vaccination procedures were useless and Nixon had to resign. But this time it is unlikely that such a tape exists, and the public has already been inoculated against the idea that Reagan's written authorizations might have been physically destroyed. McFarlane's disclosure of the "shredding party" which did precisely this destruction, can now be dismissed as not another S.G.

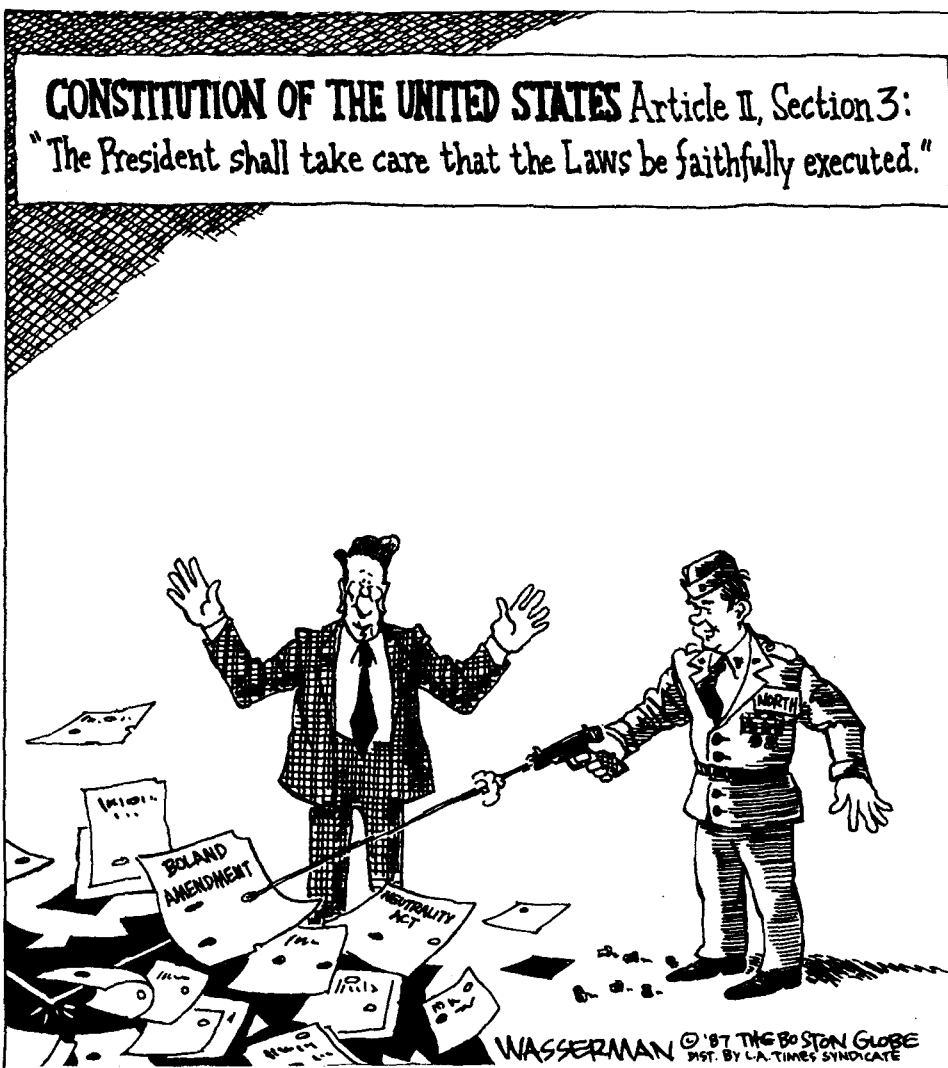
The Reagan administration has always had a particularly sophisticated grasp of these procedures. Consider the degrees by which the press was conditioned to accept the idea that President Reagan is hoping to "restore" democracy in Nicaragua, even though the press would also concede, if passed, that democracy never existed in Nicaragua prior to the revolution of 1979 and the elections of 1984 and therefore by definition cannot be "restored"; and, furthermore, that Reagan wants to return a bunch of former National Guardsmen to power.

In the *New York Times* for May 14 Elaine Sciolino solemnly reported that "in a discussion of a plan drafted by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica... President Reagan expressed concern about whether it could guarantee a process of democratization in Nicaragua." She asserted later in the same story that the Arias plan "calls for an end to American aid for the contras in return for the creation of a democratic system in Nicaragua" and that Guatemala "favors re-establishment of a democratic system there." All of this is untrue, but Sciolino would probably react angrily to the charge that this is a piece of shameless publicity for the White House on the occasion of a visit by President Cerezo, though this is exactly what it was.

Another piece of classic inoculation was the Reagan administration's assault on the ABM Treaty, with claims that a piece of treaty language outlawing the testing of space-based systems, could in fact be broadly interpreted as permitting the testing of space-based systems. There are innumerable other examples that propel us toward the inevitable conclusion that almost all reporting, whether about the Iran-contra scandal or the ABM Treaty or the homeless or the unemployed is both inoculation against reality and reassurance that despite all appearances the world is not what it seems.

The Best Revenge

The network correspondents reporting the trial in Lyons of Klaus Barbie look flushed and swollen. During one of his reports I thought that ABC's Pierre Salinger would explode. The fact is that to the great joy of network teams, fortified with vast expense accounts, Lyons is one of the foremost guzzledromes of France. After a courtroom session chronicling the deeds of the Nazi butcher, the teams hurry forth to three-star establishments such as that owned by Paul Bocuse, or La Tour Rose or the restaurant a few miles outside Lyons owned by Alain Chapel, reckoned to be the best in France. This last is also a small hotel so the swag-bellied correspondents can even complain that so crowded are conditions inside Lyons that they are having to rough it in a rural pension.



By Bruce Elliot Johansen

AS OUR NATIONAL PRESS HAS CONCENTRATED on the debate over private and public funding of the Nicaraguan contras, the seven-year-old civil war in El Salvador has slipped from the front pages, past the canyons of type between the department-store advertising, back from behind the classified ads, and largely out of our media's mind's eye.

So, it should not come as a surprise that few here have thought much about the fact that El Salvador today seems closer to a fundamental change of government than ever before. Most of us likely think the war in El Salvador pits a few bands of rag-tag guerrillas against a popular centrist government—that is, after all, what the media told us, when it told us anything at all.

North American visitors to the "front" and Salvadorans visiting the U.S. now tell us otherwise—the Duarte government and its armed forces have alienated large portions of the urban middle and lower-middle classes, setting the stage for its probable eventual collapse. The reports sound like those coming out of Nicaragua in 1977 or 1978—back when Anastasio Somoza was telling the U.S. press corps the Sandinistas were on the run.

Events in El Salvador ought to be news—after all, the U.S. has been pouring an average of \$500 million a year into El Salvador during the past several years in an attempt to keep Duarte & Co. in power, an amount of money that makes aid to the contras look like spare change.

El Salvador is close to fundamental change

Then again, the U.S. press has never been very good at covering the roots of the conflict in El Salvador. Just why has a protracted civil war cost 60,000 lives since 1980 in a country barely half as large as Iowa? Sixty thousand dead in a country of five million people would equal three million dead in the U.S.

The only time we have been treated to a display of "pack journalism" in El Salvador was during the elections early in this decade which put Duarte in power. The balloting was treated largely as an exercise in high-octane democracy by legions of U.S. correspondents.

Much of the political opposition refused to take part in those elections, and they were treated mainly as crybabies and spoilsports by our media. Little attention was paid to certain details that deterred many people from voting, such as the fact that votes were cast in see-through ballot boxes under the watchful eyes of troops who often doubled by night as members of the "dead squads" that killed more than 100 civilians during the month of the election alone.

During the election, little attention was paid to the fact that many villages in the countryside were targets of the most intense aerial bombing in the history of the



Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte.

Despite massive American aid, opposition to the Duarte regime has grown in size and intensity.

Americas. El Salvador is so small that the bombs literally rattled the hotels occupied by the international press in San Salvador, the capital. Yet, the bombing usually was defined as outside the "assignment," which was the election, and therefore usually outside the "news." Correspondents who mentioned the bombing at all seemed to deem it Muzak for embryonic democracy.

Displaced persons: In more recent years little attention has been paid to the fact that the war has made refugees of a quarter of the country's population at one time or another—on a scale of our country, that would mean 60 million people displaced from their homes.

Many of the refugees have been displaced by the bombing, one more example of our tax money at work.

A similarly small amount of media emphasis has followed detailed reports of torture in Salvadoran prisons. According to the country's non-governmental human rights commission, 99.5 percent of Salvadorans detained for political crimes at Mariona Prison in 1986 were tied, blindfolded and beaten. Nearly half were

strangled while being questioned. In some cases, U.S. military personnel acted as advisers during interrogations. The *National Catholic Reporter* published these reports, but few other U.S. press outlets have.

Advocating human rights in El Salvador is not something one does without thinking twice. Eight persons founded the non-government human rights commission in 1978. Since then seven of them have been killed by the "death squads" or have vanished without a trace. The eighth lives in exile in Mexico.

If such abuses had taken place in Nicaragua, we'd all know about them. Regarding El Salvador, one must look long and hard in our press, to the religious newspapers, small newsletters published by community groups or magazines such as *The Nation*, the *Progressive* and *Mother Jones*.

Anyone who has the slightest interest in Central American issues knows, of course, that Nicaraguan officials last year closed *La Prensa*, the only opposition newspaper in Managua. Few people here know that El Salvador's only two opposition newspapers were closed even earlier. They weren't just closed. They were firebombed. One of their editors was disemboweled in a public restaurant—and all without one peep of protest from the Reagan administration.

What's newsworthy? Is any of this news? Or do our mainstream editors regard yet another attempt to dress up tyranny as "democracy" as worth only a non-newsworthy yawn? After all, this is hardly the first time the U.S. government has tacitly approved of terror by governments that invoke the proper ritualistic anti-Communist buzzwords.

Why has the opposition grown in size and intensity despite massive U.S. aid and assistance? Are we owed an explanation, or at least a few probing questions by a press corps that seems to be belatedly rediscovering that it can be a "watchdog" of government, after years as lapdog?

Or will we wake up some cold morning to a new set of headlines suggesting once again that all the gold in Fort Knox can't defuse the desires of a country's impoverished majority? Or that the billions of dollars spent bought nothing, in the end, except tens of thousands of early deaths and the ill will of those who will survive? Is it news? It all has, after all, happened many, many times before.

Bruce Elliot Johansen is the author of *Forgotten Founders*.

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Czech dissident's dream is a Europe without blocs

Jiri Dienstbier talks with Metta Spencer

Jiri Dienstbier is a former foreign editor and correspondent for Czech radio and TV. A reformer during the Prague Spring, he was fired from his job following the Soviet invasion in 1968 and currently works as a furnace stoker. Dienstbier has twice been selected as spokesperson for the human rights movement Charter 77 and served three years in prison for his political activities. Within the Charter he has been a strong proponent of dialogue between Eastern human rights activists and Western peace movements, and has emphasized the importance for both of overcoming the bloc division of Europe. He is interviewed here by Metta Spencer, editor of the Toronto magazine Peace. The following interview was conducted last year in Prague.

Metta Spencer: Tell me what your book is about.

Jiri Dienstbier: It's called *Dreaming About Europe*. Books are published in this way. Just 10 or 12 copies are published and then we mimeograph them and publish 100 or 150. And then Josef Skvorecky publishes them in Canada. Skvorecky is the most important editor of Czech literature in all history. For 15 years now it has been the best publishing of Czech literature, which he keeps alive by publishing books [in Toronto].

Do you see any change in public opinion here?

I think that public opinion here has been unchanged for many years.

Does that hold for young people, too?

Yes. After so many years, the decay is more visible now and lots of young people have discussion groups. There was even a demonstration in December here—on the anniversary of the death of John Lennon. For the first time, several hundred young people marched through the streets of Prague and police did not stop them. However, many of them were later interrogated. They wanted to form a new peace group. During their demonstration they signed an appeal against the medium range missiles in Europe in both the West and East. But after the interrogation they didn't succeed in forming their group.

Why?

They are not prepared for the experience with the secret police, and after the talk at police headquarters most people prefer to avoid another contact of that kind.

What do people think about Gorbachov?

People watch his speeches, and have waited to see whether there will be some changes, but the majority don't believe that's possible. Even if Gorbachov well understands what is necessary for Russia and this part of the world, the opposition is terrible against such an understanding. It concerns the privileges of millions of apparatchiks in these countries.

But some optimism is warranted. It's clear that if the system wishes to compete or even preserve its position in the chang-

ing world, it can't keep stagnating as it has for 20 years. If the Soviet Union wishes to be a great power in the 21st century it must change, which is impossible without releasing the initiative of people. But you can't have initiative when the only acceptable thing is for people to do what is ordered from above. That requires a change of the political system. But nobody knows whether it is possible in Russia.

Tell me about your dream of Europe—your book.

I try to explain to the younger generation that there is nothing inevitable about the Soviet-American condominium of the world. I want to encourage an active approach to our own destiny. I point to the cultural unity of our countries, just to force people to recognize that things are not final and that what happened resulted, not from destiny, but from the concrete politics of different nations, ideologies, nationalisms, and so on. There are no closed questions. Everything is open, as it always was open in history.

I'm interested in a demilitarized zone in Europe—some version of, say, the Rapacki [the Polish foreign minister] plan of the '50s. How much basis is there for establishing a common platform for the peace-and-freedom movements of the East and West?

If we take it just from our point of view, what are the crises of Eastern Europe? What were the Berlin of '53 and Budapest and Warsaw of '56, and Czechoslovakia of '68 and Warsaw of '80? It is just a demonstration that these nations simply won't accept the division of the territory on which, for a thousand years, everybody could go wherever he liked—to Rome or to Moscow. The suppression of this movement by Soviet tanks or Jaruzelski's tanks shows Western people that Central Europeans simply must be afraid of the Russians. That's why they support the armaments in the West and a strong NATO and Reagan's SDI and so on.

About 60 percent of Americans support SDI, but 75 percent would have preferred a substantial agreement about nuclear arms. But no one is willing to risk unilateral disarmament.

Most Western peace activists do not call for unilateral disarmament. They want a unilateral initiative.

Yes, but that was not the situation five years ago. This understanding has formed gradually. After several years of discussion between Charter 77 and the West European peace movement, lots of ideas have changed, both there and here. In the beginning, people here saw the Western peace movement as agents of Moscow—as fools who simply don't understand what everybody in Prague has known for years.

In 1984 I attended some discussions in Belgium of a proposal for a demilitarized Europe. It would involve not only removing nuclear weapons but also the foreign troops and weapons of both sides. And greatly reducing the nations' local military forces as well. About a hundred of us talked about the idea for three days. Everyone sounded positive—including the Soviets, even though it seems clear that it would mean the loss of political dominance in Central Europe. The trade-off for them is that it would include West Germany. If

that were included in a demilitarized Europe, I think the Soviets might actually be open to the idea.

Reagan does the worst possible things to support the conservative element in the Soviet bureaucracy. He really helps the repressive people in the Soviet leadership.

Yes, but if the opportunity were offered to Reagan to liberate Central Europe—get it opened up as a trade-off for disarmament—I don't see how he could afford to refuse it.

But he won't be offered it. It must be a gradual process, started on many levels. Gorbachov simply can't take the armies from Central and Eastern Europe now or next year. It might mean [socio-political] explosions that would endanger the whole process. You have to do all these things gradually.

For us the first peace initiative is the fight for human rights. Human rights are a means to do other things. If you can't speak openly, how can you fight for anything? And if the governments are not controlled by an open society, you can't believe them. They can do whatever they like. The Western peace movements can at least force their governments not to lie too much. But here the government can hide anything.

The situations here and in the West are incomparable. [Take for example] the women of Greenham Common! If any Czech woman does one-tenth of what the women at Greenham Common do, she will get 15 years in prison immediately! And if she penetrates the base she can get an instant death penalty. I think the fight for the right of people to speak openly all over the world—in South Africa as in Czechoslovakia or Chile—is simply the first necessity. Without this there will be no peace.

And yet, ironically, the U.S., which has far more opportunities for people to be political, is clearly leading the arms race.

Yes, but they are leading the race because technologically they are 20 years ahead. That is the problem.

But it's no accident that they are 20 years ahead. Enormous numbers of people in the U.S. have an investment in the military-industrial complex. For example, my mother worked for 30 years writing contracts for whatever the U.S. Air Force wanted to buy. To talk to her about disarmament amounts to telling her that her life was wrong, so she can't think about that.

But the Soviet Union is even worse. A much higher percentage of people is connected with the military-industrial complex. That makes it much worse psychologically in the Soviet Union.

There is going to be a meeting in Vienna in November to announce a new common program supported by both the Eastern and Western movements. Are you sending anybody to it?

Hah! We can't send anybody. But we sent many amendments and proposals to the text. There's a very small group who can work on this question. A few of us worked in this sphere 20-some years ago—Jiri Hajek, the former foreign minister, and myself, and some other people who were professionally occupied by foreign policy questions. People under 40 have been able to listen to the radio, but not to work with the



Jiri Dienstbier hopes for cooperation between the left in the East and West.

texts and materials. If you need to formulate something in this sphere you need professionals. You must know the historical connections, and so on. Otherwise, if someone starts to talk about the Palme Commission and the Rapacki plan, they wouldn't know what these were.

Would you like to see the Western peace movement adopt the Rapacki plan or the Palme Corridor plan come out of Vienna as a major cause?

There is no major cause. Everything forms a chain that you can work from at any point. For instance, the Labour Party replied to the Prague Appeal from London by saying that first we have to form a new security system and afterward we can talk about questions like Germany and neutral zones and so on, because to do so would just worsen the situation now. But how can you talk about the new security system without solving the question of Berlin? You can't make any security system without solving the question of Germany. You can't solve the question of Germany without solving the great powers fighting for influence. And to speak about zones of influence brings up the question of sovereignty of Central and Eastern European states.

The main thing is to start to think: we have a divided world now and we have to overcome this division. That's the first point. We can discuss how, and force our governments to acknowledge that division is not the real basis of peace. The real basis of peace is the trend to change this postwar situation. Then we can discuss everything. All questions are open and there is no specific question that can be solved separately.

If this general strategy is accepted, then you can start, for instance, by making a belt of neutral countries from Finland, Sweden, through East, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland, Yugoslavia. And we cut the forces of NATO and Warsaw Pact by a neutral zone. But this neutral zone cannot be and won't be accepted as a goal. It can be accepted only as a step in a plan to overcome the division of Europe and the hemisphere.

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V.S. Naipaul comes home to Proust

The Enigma of Arrival

By V.S. Naipaul
Alfred A. Knopf, 354 pp., \$17.95

By Jeremiah Creedon

B RITAIN'S ITINERANT SOCIAL critic, the gloomiest of global nomads, the man of letters who has done more than any other to make literature the true dismal science, has finally taken his critics' advice and gone home. The novelist who for years had emulated Joseph Conrad, despairing in far-flung places over indigenous disregard for the Magna Charta and afternoon tea, has moved to the English countryside and adopted a new model, the lush dandy Marcel Proust. The product of this odd liaison is *The Enigma of Arrival*, a novel that may also be a "ceremony of farewell" to the portable V.S. Naipaul. For a writer in his 50s the time has come for remembrance and repose; and what Naipaul has found upon resting his weary feet is the psychic pebble in his shoe that has perhaps made a lifelong journey seem bleaker than it really was.

Road to a masterpiece: His travels began in 1950 when at 17 Naipaul left his native Trinidad after winning a scholarship to study at Oxford. After three early novels were published in the late '50s, Naipaul finished what many consider his masterpiece, *A House for Mr. Biswas* (1961). Based on the life of the author's father, a fallen Hindu and failing journalist, the novel is a tragicomic account of one man's futile effort to achieve his simple dreams. It is also a sweeping study of his parents' culture: the families who in 1845 began arriving in Trinidad as cheap labor from India, 10 years after the British empire had abolished slavery.

In the early '60s Naipaul returned to Trinidad and found that his emotional ties to the country had been broken. It was no longer home. He then spent a year in India. These journeys inspired his first nonfiction works, *The Middle Passage* and *An Area of Darkness*. Naipaul had shorn away his comic edge and rejected the label of "Caribbean writer," revealing in the process an innate pessimism and a growing impatience with his ancestral societies. This new voice suggested the course of his writing for the next 20 years.

The critical gulf: As the author's scope widened, so did the gulf between those who praised and criticized him. Many argued that he was an apologist for colonialism, that his work rose from a nostalgia for the bygone days of the British

glory. Others saw him as a brilliant observer, a witness to the great upheavals, and torpors, that have followed the colonial period's decline. Still others, citing the complexity of his vision, were more willing to accept that Naipaul the artist was at once neither and both.

In 1967 he finished *The Mimic Man*, the story of an exiled Caribbean leader writing his memoirs in London. It is, I think, his best book and the first of three novels dealing directly with his "great subject," cultural displacement. He completed the informal trilogy with *In a Free State* (1971) and *A Bend in the River* (1979), which taken together may be Naipaul working at the height of his powers.

Naipaul's range during this period—the busy middle passage of his career—expands to include

FICTION

nearly all the developing world. In both his fiction and nonfiction, however, Naipaul's thesis remains the same. Nothing disturbs him more than the cultural disarray he sees in his travels. This chaos is an assault upon his faith in civilization, in the restraints imposed by tradition and law. The human energy unleashed by independence, in Africa and the Caribbean, becomes a negative force that is darkened by the resurgence of an arrested, barbaric past.

These are Naipaul's "half-made societies that seemed doomed to remain half-made." A law of the jungle, like the jungle itself, threatens to reclaim areas that once were ordered by European values. The people themselves are conflicted, in turns defiant and deferential toward Western cultures they cannot live with or without. And if colonial rule was the great corruption, then the imposed values—from rationalism to the Rights of Man—are suspect as well. Entire countries are thus victimized by those who exploit this conflict: the dictators, the revolutionary charlatans and the corporate carpetbaggers of post-colonialism.

"These were the things that began to preoccupy me," Naipaul has written. "And I found that Conrad—60 years before, in a time of great peace—had been there before me."

Following Conrad: In "Conrad's Darkness," the essay where Naipaul expresses this debt, he writes that Conrad became his guide to avoiding "the subtle corruptions of the novel or comedy of manners." Naipaul felt that such tendencies distracted the novelist from his real task: "to awaken the sense of true wonder." In his new novel, Naipaul

dismisses his early comic impulse with the same harshness. "I took refuge in humor—comedy, funniness, the satirical reflex, in writing as in life so often covering up for confusion."

What remains in *Enigma* of the young Naipaul's comic voice is the cringe of disdain, or at least suspicion, with which he greets every human encounter. He speaks of discovering his deep concern for others, and of learning to share their experience in a way that as a young man he could not. This new generosity, however, exists in tension with the old defensive "reflex" to stay a foot or two above those he portrays. In Naipaul's world the narrative voice meets few equals, and no betters.

Even his best works bear this flaw. There is a lovelessness to them, an absence of these emotions that exist between people in the closest quarters, emotions that redeem them in their own eyes and in ours. And yet it is the flawed nature of his work that intrigues me: his faults become the signature of his unbending uniqueness, a guarantee to the reader that the writer will be true throughout to his own vision.

Respite for a stranger: Naipaul's new novel returns to his middle passage, the decade when he wrote many of his mature works. It is not another story inspired by his travels, but a recollection of the life he led between them. In his 40s, the writer moves from London to a cottage on the grounds of an estate near Stonehenge in southwestern England. He finds there a respite from the anxieties of the stranger, cultural outsider, he had

In Naipaul's world the narrative voice meets few equals, and no betters.

known since leaving Trinidad. His first spring in the country awakens a pleasure in nature that has been dormant since his island childhood. This pleasure heals him of a strange exhaustion, a malaise that had its origins in a divided sense of self—a conflict between the "colonial Hindu" he was and the "metropolitan" writer he strove frantically to be as a young man.

Over the years Naipaul begins to understand the patterns of those who share this land with him. They are all bound in some way to the estate's owner, an aging and eccentric recluse who lives in the central manor. One by one these people die or are drawn away from the es-

tate as the old order there unravels—like the old order of a wealthier England.

This change in the social fabric expresses itself in the surrounding landscape. Naipaul expends much effort in first recreating this countryside, an area bounded by his habitual walks, and then describing in minute detail the way that time, in league with man and nature, transforms it. Naipaul trains himself to regard this process without sentimentality, to see the collapse of a favorite tree or the death of an old gardener as part of life's cycle. This is not a case of the mordant social observer working to keep an edge, but of a man protecting himself from the fear of "decay" that haunts him.

Naipaul eventually leaves the estate as well, bearing with him the new sense of death from which this book is written.

Raw memory into art: In 1981, when asked by a *Newsweek* reporter what he was reading, Naipaul answered "Proust—straight through." Once again a writer had revealed to Naipaul "a kind of falsity about the usual novel," reiterating his own belief that "society and one's life today are not really amenable to the novel form."

Enigma is Naipaul's response. Emulating Proust, he strives for the synthesis of detail and structure that turns raw memory into art. It stands to reason that a novel based on the shape of the author's daily walks—circular—would be somewhat pedestrian. Only when the long walk is over does one recognize the level of craft that has been needed to complete it. This closure justifies much that on an initial reading seems tentative—as if Naipaul himself is searching like the reader for the significance of his remembered material.

Within this larger work is a section called "The Journey," which taken alone is perhaps the most revealing (and powerful) thing Naipaul has ever written. It begins with his departure from Trinidad, a flight to New York City and the voyage by ship to England. In London, he moves to a boardinghouse, a haven for the "flotsam of Europe after the end of the terrible war." He witnesses "the beginning of that great movement of peoples that was to take place in the second half of the 20th century." Cities like London were becoming "modern-day Romes, establishing the pattern of what great cities should be, in the eyes of islanders like myself and people even more remote...cities visited for learning and elegant goods and manners and freedom by all the barbarian peoples of the globe...."

But instead of seeing this mass displacement as his true subject, Naipaul despaired, thinking he had arrived "too late to find the England, the heart of empire, which (like a provincial from a far corner of the empire) I had created in my fantasy." The decay he was to find in so many other societies was ironically first detected in the changing England he is so often accused of supporting. He was determined to make himself a "knowing and unilluminated" writer like his earliest models, Somerset Maugham or Evelyn Waugh, refusing to accept that their world was closed to him or maybe no longer existed. The result was difficult years spent denying not only his subject but his own identity.

The sympathetic reader will find here much to explain the enigma of Naipaul himself, the crux of which is the contradiction between his words and deeds. Naipaul's pessimism, his harsh judgment upon so much that he encounters, cannot be simply reconciled with his long commitment to the world he criticizes. He is a man of deep fears battling a notion (perhaps inherited from his Hindu family) that the temporal world pollutes and corrupts. But rather than let this inward curling of his nature drive him into seclusion—a surrender to the gravity of his deep fears—Naipaul rises to confront the world again and again.

The account of this inner battle becomes an implicit admission that Naipaul's world is very much the product of Naipaul's sensibility. The vision of collapse has been filtered through a temperament that sees entropy as a matter of course. In the complex dynamic between a reclusive lord and the people living in the shadow of his great manor, Naipaul again finds the erosive factors that he has detected everywhere else. He must train himself to the idea of change so as "to avoid grief; not to see decay." And this insight may be an explanation of sorts to his more generous critics.

There is also, finally, the sense in this book of Naipaul reaching the end of his career. The business of assessing his worth, however, seems destined to continue. The political issue here may never be resolved, but Naipaul will always have admirers, and the reason for his enduring (if limited) appeal is ironic. The man without a society, a writer who has lamented not sharing those cultural assumptions upon which the novel relies, now attracts readers for the same reason that the urbane Maugham and Waugh once attracted him: the voice of an experience they otherwise can never know. And he possesses the one thing they themselves could never inherit or buy: a unique story. ■

Jeremiah Creedon is a freelance writer living in Minneapolis.

The Time Wanderers

By Arkady and Boris Strugatsky
Translated by Antonina W. Bouis
Richardson & Steinman, 213 pp.,
\$16.95 cloth

By Karen Rosenberg

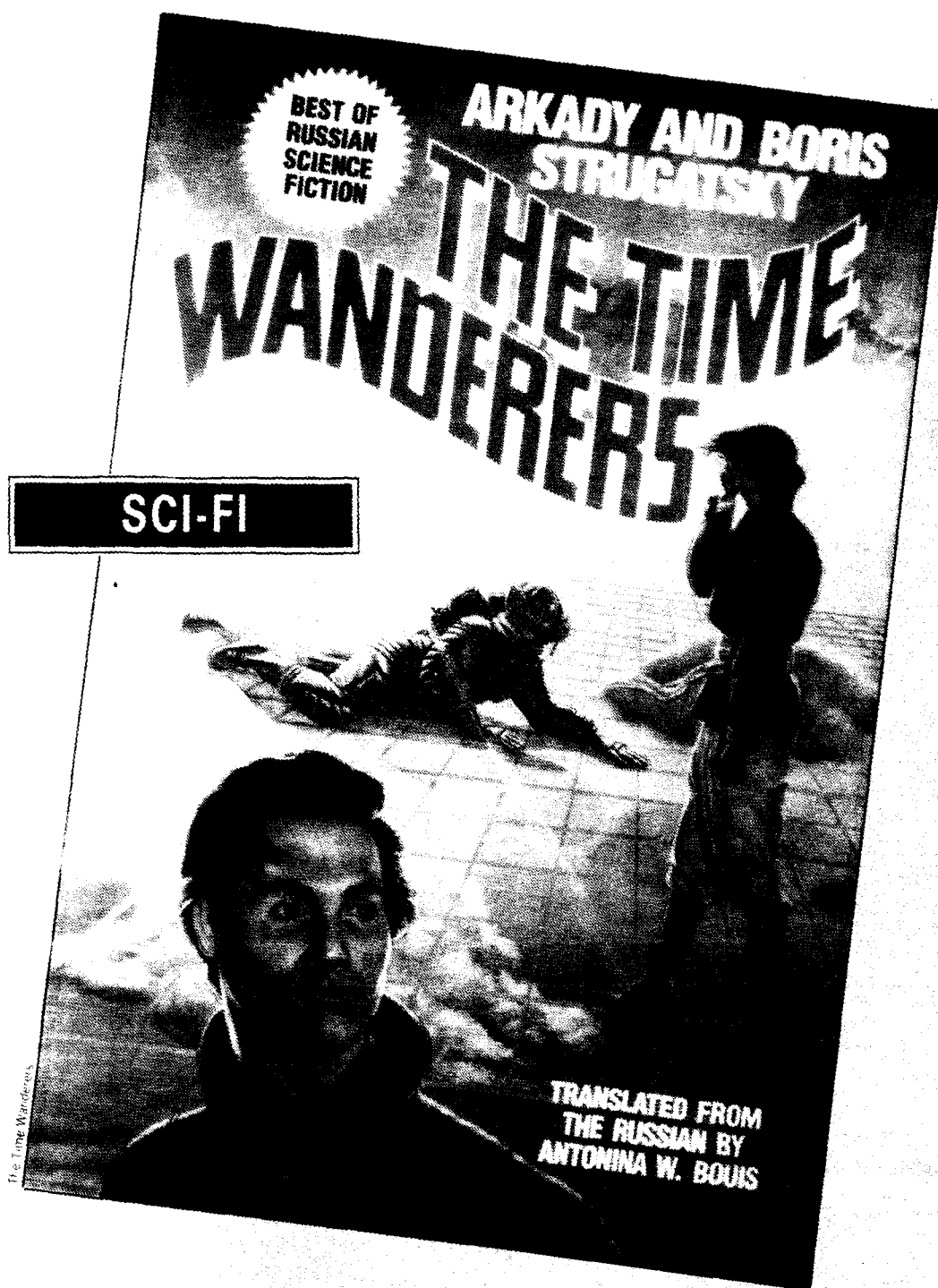
SOVIET INTELLECTUALS KNOW where to look in their censored and conformist culture for pungent ideas. And so should we. Often, it has been in children's literature and in science fiction, where fantasizing can be justified by the requirements of the genre. The most famous Soviet sci-fi authors, a pair of brothers named Arkady and Boris Strugatsky who write as a team, have sometimes published with houses that specialize in juvenile books, but that doesn't mean that their writing is aimed at children. Far from it. Their devoted audience includes members of the scientific and technical elite who know sections of some of their works by heart.

Part of what hooks readers on the Strugatskys may be their repeated characters and related themes. *The Time Wanderers*—which appeared in a Soviet journal in 1985 and 1986 under the more interesting title *The Waves Extinguish the Wind*—is so full of references to previous Strugatsky works that it may be difficult to read without that context.

The Strugatskys have long been circling around the question of whether members of an elite have the right to push a society toward what they believe to be a better path. Of course the theme is relevant to many lands, but in the USSR the Strugatskys' works have often been understood as a critique of home-grown practices. Their Russian readers are well aware that force has been used within the Soviet borders, as well as outside of them, to compel people to change in the name of socialist progress. As liberals on the Soviet spectrum, the Strugatskys are extremely wary of such methods and the smug confidence in Marxism-Leninism that stands behind that approach to human beings.

Starting from scratch: And yet that doesn't mean that the Strugatskys believe that one must never intervene in the affairs of others. Complete isolation is also unacceptable to them, for there are conditions, they think, in which action—even violent action—is just and necessary. Science fiction allows them to determine those conditions. When you construct a world from scratch, you have the flexibility to build a good test case.

Maksim Kammerer has often served as the Strugatskys' good-natured Everyman. In *The Inhabited Island* (which was called *Prisoners of Power* in its English translation) he lands by accident on the planet of Saraksh which has already undergone one nuclear war and is heading for a second. To his horror (and ours) he finds



Space is the place for Soviet lit

himself in a militarized, totalitarian state, complete with labor camps for political prisoners. He gradually learns that an elite controls the country through mysterious emissions that make most citizens susceptible to propaganda. Only after Maksim has knocked out the emission towers does he discover that an Earthling known as Wanderer has already been sent to Saraksh to bring it out of a state of war. The fact that Wanderer has been unable to change the oppressive political system raises the question of whether outsiders are capable of rerouting a society.

By destroying the towers, Maksim has inadvertently precipitated a medical crisis for those aliens who are addicted to emission doses. In other words, violent resistance may create as many problems as it solves. When do the means cancel out the good intentions? Readers are left to puzzle that one out. The Strugatskys' philosophical dialogues (like Dos-

toevsky's) provide few unambiguous answers. And that's probably one reason why their novels pass the censor.

The Strugatskys write adventure stories with a difference: evil rarely originates with an individual, but is diffused within a bureaucratic system. In their *Beetle in the Anthill*, Maksim Kammerer has returned to Earth, and his boss in the Commission on Contacts with Other Civilizations is none other than Wanderer, now called Rudolf Sikorsky. Sikorsky's new, top-secret assignment for Maksim is to find out why one Lev Abalkin has vanished.

Strugatskys in wanderland: The reason for all the hush-hush is eventually revealed: Abalkin has developed from one of the fertilized human eggs left in a sarcophagus, probably by mysterious aliens called the Wanderers. Because the purpose of the Wanderers' action is unknown—and could be nefarious—Abalkin has been forbidden to live on the Earth he loves. When

Maksim discovers that he has returned there, Sikorsky fears that the Wanderers have programmed Abalkin to do ill.

This is the framework on which the authors hang their characteristic dialectic of ideas. Sikorsky believes that some experiments must be conducted in secrecy, with limitations on the prerogatives of those involved. He is opposed by Dr. Isaac Bromberg, an uncompromising advocate of openness and of no con-

The Strugatskys write adventure stories with a difference: evil rarely originates in individuals, but is diffused in a bureaucracy.

trols. Abalkin's case puts the theories to the test.

Do the "foundlings" who develop from these eggs have a right to privacy? What will be the psychological effect of revealing to them the circumstances of their "birth"? When one "foundling" learned of

his origin, he apparently killed himself. But at the end of the novel Abalkin insists that he should have been told why he couldn't stay on Earth. He had almost gone mad trying to figure it out. While the authors cautiously distance themselves from Bromberg's "extremist" desire for total independence and freedom of information, they also suggest that Soviet-style secrecy and control are excessive, and may lead to negative consequences.

Perhaps Sikorsky failed to understand the Wanderers because he conceived of them in his own image. Having attempted to redirect the course of history on Saraksh, he probably couldn't imagine that they weren't trying to do the same on Earth. The hero of *The Time Wanderers*, Toivo Glumov, had also been trained to speed up progress among backward humanoid civilizations, but he rejected that theory and quit his promising career. That may be why Glumov, who works for Maksim Kammerer, is able to distinguish what the Wanderers are up to on Earth.

Joining the Monocosm: *Beetle in the Anthill* was constructed around the possibility of a hostile act by the Wanderers. In *The Time Wanderers*, it looks like these aliens are attempting to create a cosmic community. "Their aim is to search, select and prepare individuals for joining the Monocosm, and finally to bring in those who are mature enough," conjectures Bromberg to Kammerer, who is now head of the Department of Unusual Events. (I've emended Bouis' translation, which sometimes augments the mysteriousness of the work.)

Not every Earthling is capable of attaining a higher level of development. Through a variety of tests the Wanderers are able to identify people open to other worlds. Who doesn't have a xenophobic reaction to strange creatures which appear out of the blue? Who is immune to the fear of abandonment in airless space? The Wanderers' apparent goal seems worthy enough, but an elite troubles Glumov, even when he is chosen to join it. (In a country like the USSR, where those admitted to the Communist Party enjoy a privileged position, that's a significant opinion indeed.) But will he manage to resist the lure of prestige?

To combine adventure-story suspense with political philosophy is no easy task, but these authors have studied Dostoevsky well. In the USSR, as in the West, science fiction is often considered second-class literature. This duo made it not just mainstream but controversial and avant-garde. While these recent novels are less pointed and satirical than some of their earlier works, the Strugatsky brothers are still among the most sophisticated writers in the USSR today.

Karen Rosenberg's article on Soviet science fiction will appear in *Technology Review* in July.

By Pat Aufderheide

The System Works...At Least Once

Broadcasters hold licenses because they control a property owned by the public, and they have to demonstrate not only financial competence but public responsibility. If not, members of the public can file a petition to deny their license. Finally, even a panel at this era's Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has found a case in which a broadcaster deserved the "death penalty"—revocation of a license—for gross malfeasance. And it's probable that the full commission will agree.

In Fredonia, N.Y., Henry Serafin, owner of the AM station WBUZ, may have lost his license for failure to keep records of community programming open to the public, for openly racist hiring policies (he shouted at a CETA job counselor, "Don't you have any white girls to send me?") and charged that one applicant "would make charcoal look white"), for cheating on prizes in contests and for lying to the commission. The panel concluded that the case "presents some of the most egregious conduct by a commission licensee we have witnessed in some time." One of the authors of the decision said Serafin "could easily give the harsh penalty of non-renewal a very 'good name.'" The case has been at the FCC for six years. Yet despite the long delay and the outrageous nature of the case, the Fredonia decision is a vivid reminder that public interest standards still apply to broadcasters, if citizens use them.

Footing the Bill for Public TV

The search for ways to pay for public TV goes on, each alternative taking another bite out of the public's \$1 billion investment in the service. Biggie station WNET in the New York area briefly considered selling some of its time to home-shopping services that promise to hawk only upscale merchandise in the off-hours. As always, the question is less whether you want your public TV station to look tacky at 2 a.m. than how much such gambits erode a station's mandate to provide the kind of programming network TV can't or won't offer. What apparently changed WNET management's mind, however, was the spotty record of home-shopping revenues.

Meanwhile, "pledgeless" pledge drives—in which direct-mail solicitations substitute for on-air begging—are gaining popularity. The hitch: the drives raise money, but don't garner new subscribers. In the wake of public TV's desperate funding scramble, unlikely supporters are coming out of the closet. The FCC's Mass Media Bureau Chief James McKinney, a self-described "proponent of marketplace economics and deregulation," described the service to public TV officials recently as "necessary," to meet informational needs that the private sector can't or won't. McKinney, along with commercial broadcasters, realizes that public TV is private TV's best protection from further public interest obligations. But the more public TV strays from an educational, non-commercial mandate in search of ratings and budget boosters, the weaker an alternative it becomes.

Ironies of Indecency

Someone needs to introduce the left hand to the right hand in government regulation of mass media, if indecency rulings are any guide. For instance, first the FCC stripped away structural regulation that inhibited crass attempts to garner audiences with shock value, then expanded its interpretation of indecency. The sudden plunge into content regulation won't go down easy; Pacifica Foundation, one of the victims (through its station KPDK) of the expanded FCC definition of indecency, is now suing the FCC, charging violation of the Communications Act and the First Amendment. Prudery marches on, though, with a Supreme Court decision upholding a Utah law prohibiting indecent cable programs. Ironically, among those who may feel the pinch are televangelist programmers, who have won cable slots by arguing that their programming—including (isn't it hard not to giggle?) the Jim Bakker PTL network—provides family-oriented, morality-driven balance.

Bigger, Not Better

The latest ranking of the top 100 companies in electronic communications, published by *Broadcasting* magazine, reveals the winners in the latest round of high-stakes info-gambling, the trading game made possible by regulatory relaxation. Topping the list are Capital Cities/ABC, General Electric (owner of NBC), and CBS. Coincidentally, these are the three companies whose massive cuts of news and public affairs budgets rocked the media world. Congress now appears ready to consider legislation reviving the FCC rule requiring new owners to hold a broadcast property for three years.

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IN THE ARTS

Ishtar: Getting lost in an upscale cultural desert

Ishtar

Written and directed by Elaine May

By Pat Aufderheide

ISHTAR HAS FINALLY ARRIVED. A mildly amusing anticlimax to its notoriety in production. The collection of "difficult" celebrities (Warren Beatty, Elaine May, Dustin Hoffman) involved in such a fluffy film project; the alleged \$57 million budget; the endless delays and mysteries surrounding production all turned it into Gossip Central.

The end product is far less entertaining than the gossip was. Where it gets interesting is as an expression of the collapse of convention in post-Hollywood mainstream film.

Elaine May, who wrote and directed *Ishtar*, is the quirky comic who, after success in stand-up comedy with Mike Nichols, went on to direct *The Heartbreak Kid* and *Mikey and Nicky*—both victims of great expectations and May's disorganized directorial style. She also co-wrote the script for *Heaven Can Wait* (which Beatty produced and co-directed). In *Ishtar* Beatty and Hoffman play hapless singer-songwriters who take a desperation gig in Morocco, only to land in the middle of international intrigue that could precipitate conflagration in the Middle East.

Road to nowhere: *Ishtar* is intended, in the words of Charles Grodin (who plays the CIA agent in it), as a "thinking man's road movie." It looks more like the movie *Martians* might have made after careful study of the *Road to...* movies starring Bing Crosby and Bob Hope, with Dorothy Lamour, made between 1940 and 1962.

Those blithe fantasies, launched on the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II, were an open rejection of the cruel dramas of real life. Crosby and Hope played innocent Americans exercising chivalric myths—alternately discovering and rescuing the glamorous Lamour—on a generically exotic backdrop. The international sites of adventure—Singapore, Zanzibar, Morocco, Bali—were pulled out of the same wardrobe closet that later films such as *Raiders of the Lost Ark* and *Romancing the Stone* delved into. The films' durable entertainment value depended on conventional humor, expertly crowd-pleasing showmanship, and the general acceptance of no-longer-eternal verities, such as uncritically romantic views of women and the mysterious East.

Ishtar attempts both to revive that escapist relief from another era and to load all the categories

involved with irony, in a way that may or may not have been intended. It's so uneasy in its category of Innocents Abroad movies that it provokes less awareness than bafflement. You can't tell if this is hamhanded Brechtian fantasy or smart-aleck jokes on the back of brutal reality.

Instant Karma's gonna get you: In *Ishtar*, the men are not boyishly charming but failed adults, painfully incompetent performers wracked with neuroses. May's script early on puts Hoffman's character Chuck on a ledge, suicidal with the realization that he's a fraud and a failure, saved only by his friend Lyle (Beatty). Lyle's power of persuasion is that he is even more of a hapless putz than Chuck. It's a savagely funny moment. It forces us to take seriously these characters tortured by the American Dream of Instant Fame, and it also breaks the bubble-fantasy of *Road to...* convention.

The woman in the film (Isabelle Adjani) is not femininity on a gilded Hollywood pedestal, but a political leader swathed in the Hollywood sheik outfit. She's a postmodern combination of Rudolph Valentino

Front fighters endangered the crew, which arrived in Morocco the day the Israelis bombed Tunisia. And the Iran-contra hearings daily upstage the antics of these fictional characters.

Surplus ironic freight: What did *Ishtar* want to do with all this ironic freight? It's a shocking statement about public acceptance of official corruption that first-wave film reviews have not even remarked on the film's CIA villain. It's also a statement about the director's conceptual confusions and its wobbly execution.

The imaginary country Ishtar is one part boilerplate-mysterious-East, with comic Arabs deviously conspiring, camels ever ready to complete the stereotypic image. Its other part is as a festering human and political rights crisis, sharpened by the U.S. government. It's never clear which is the Ishtar we're supposed to be seeing.

Lyle and Chuck are characters that perhaps only Woody Allen could pull off—poignant in blind pursuit of the hackneyed. Warren Beatty (hum a refrain of "You're so vain..." here) never convinces us that he's a physically awkward, shy cracker, nor does Hoffman act like the urban-Jewish mama's boy he's supposed to be.

Their innocence is anything but innocuous. When Lyle mistakes Khadafy for some country he's never heard of, it's a joke, but of a



Money changes everything—but not always for the best.

and Yassir Arafat, and she doesn't need to be saved. In fact, she's saving a whole country. She's always ready with a phrase or statistic on the human rights violations of the Emir of Ishtar, the imaginary land to the south of Morocco.

The film's villains are not the Other but Ourselves. The CIA representative (the transcendently slimy Grodin) is willing to murder the singer-songwriters in order to keep the Emir happy.

The plot's ironies intersect with savage real-life ironies. When the CIA rep professes astonishment at the murder plot to a government official, he asks the source. "The Secretary of State?" he asks. "How would he know?" Roll over, William Casey. The clash with reality even affected production; Moroccan land mines placed against Polisario

sharp-edged, self-indicting kind, while Lyle is the kind of chump we're supposed to find simply endearing. The one thing you can really believe is that they can't sing or write songs.

Ishtar shows an underlying anger about geopolitical realities and the possibility for grassroots American dreamers to get a piece of the American dream as shown on *Entertainment Tonight*. But the ironies are undigested. With the film's charming performers, attractively exotic settings and surface gloss, it's easy to simply take the movie at face value—slight at best. *Ishtar* is the period at the end of the sentence of the *Road to...* movies. Willy-nilly, it shows us the end of a fantasy of innocent-American adventure.

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By David Tal

JAZZ MUSIC HAS NEVER BEEN LIKED by European totalitarian rulers. The Nazis disdained the American genre because of its roots in the "inferior" culture of blacks. Communist ideologues have usually cast jazz as the corrosive outpourings of bourgeois society. In protest, jazz fans point out to the Communist cultural watchdogs that jazz is not rooted in capitalist domination, but emerged from America's exploited black proletariat. Thus, they conclude, jazz should be given the ideological seal of approval.

This debate is more than academic, especially in Czechoslovakia, where a dedicated group of jazz lovers has come into conflict with state authorities. "We're quite a trouble for the Communist Party," said Karel Srp, head of the Jazz Section, Czechoslovakia's popular and determinedly independent jazz-lovers' organization, in an interview last year. Several months after that interview, he and six other leaders of the Jazz Section were arrested on charges of unauthorized economic activity. In March only two defendants were given prison terms—16 months for Srp and 10 months for Vladimir Kouril.

Many observers were surprised and relieved by the "lenient" sentences; rumors had put the jail terms at 10 times what the judge finally declared. Josef Skvorecky, a Czech emigré and professor at the University of Toronto, points out that the powerful hardliners in Prague couldn't get the harsh sentences they wanted while Gorbachov is pushing *glasnost* in Moscow. (For an in-depth look at the Czech dissident view of East-West politics, see story on page 17.) Yet even more surprising than the sentences is the fact that the Jazz Section has survived for so long.

The Czech constitution guarantees cultural organizations freedom from censorship—and the jazz lovers who founded the Section in 1971 took that seriously. Unlike most other organizations, the Jazz Section refused to be bullied into following the understood rules of conduct. They sponsored jazz concerts and festivals, sent newsletters and bulletins to their members and even sponsored art exhibits. While not loved by the authorities, they were tolerated since their influence seemed limited to the membership of 3,000 and their activities fell mostly within the narrow world of traditional jazz.

Jazz leads to the hard stuff:

By the mid-'70s, the twists of musical development had brought Srp and the Jazz Section to a prominent position in the Czech cultural scene. A new style of jazz-rock fusion was becoming popular, and the Jazz Section expanded its focus to support the new music. As jazz slipped into jazz-rock, jazz-rock led to rock: the Section found itself supporting more and more of the



The Jazz Section got in hot water with the Party when interest in jazz led to jazz-rock (above) and even punk.

Improvising in a rigid structure when Party music isn't danceable

emerging, often underground, rock music on the musical and political edge. The new rock music was in-

CZECH JAZZ

fluenced by New Wave and Punk and was hated by state and Party officials.

The state's hostility to the new rock was forcefully expressed in 1976, when members of the group Plastic People were tried and sentenced for their lyrics. For example:

What do you resemble in your greatness?

Are you the truth?

Are you God?

What do you resemble in your greatness?

A piece of shit, a piece of shit, a piece of shit....

The official charges were not based on the political content or meaning of the lyrics, but rather on the depravity of using words like "shit."

In the pushing past of old limits, even rock groups' names became controversial. Some groups aimed to disgust and shock—for example, Frog's Slime. Others made political points: one group called themselves the Partly Brave Rock Aggregation, pointing out that if they were completely brave the state would no longer allow them to be a rock aggregation. The authorities fought back, changing offending names by fiat to bland appellations such as Music Prague.

The state used other means of control as well. In order to be reimbursed for travel expenses and instrument hire, or even just to play in public, musicians must be certified by special committees. It proved easy for the authorities to guide these committees in refusing the re-certification of certain groups. Managers of concert halls and auditoriums could be pressured and

harassed into refusing to book concerts with groups out of favor. If this failed, the authorities could simply ban concerts—which led to confrontations between police and angry, disappointed rock fans.

Avante-garde danger zone:

One Jazz Section member remarked that the "whole region of avant-garde music is marked by an atmosphere of danger.... That's why people come from afar to see concerts of certain rock groups: because this concert could be their last."

By becoming the center of this growing movement of groups and fans, the Jazz Section became the target of pressure and harassment from the authorities. The Section's audacious publications also provoked official unease. In addition to newsletters and bulletins, the Section published books on topics such as John Lennon, Dada art, the history of rock music in Czechoslovakia, and the cultural life of Jews in the Nazi ghetto at Terezin. The publications were limited by law to the membership of 3,000; but each issue, passed around hand-to-hand, was probably read by perhaps 100,000 people.

The authorities attempted to control this problem at the source: "Most of the printing shops around Prague know they cannot work for the Jazz Section," Srp said. "This doesn't come down in written form, but they're supposed to say, 'Sorry, we have too much work.' But we keep finding printing shops who will do it. It's some kind of civilian bravery—these people could lose their jobs because of it."

In 1982 and 1983 a fresh wave of attacks began on musicians and the Section, heralded by letters to the editor in newspapers. The most important attack, an article in the Party weekly *Tribuna*, repeated the old charge: rock was an invention

of capitalism, designed to narcotize the masses, to divert them from struggling against domination and exploitation.

Jazz and rock supporters pointed out the sillier errors in the article—Pete Seeger was *not* a famous rock star of the early '50s, for example. The main thrust of the counter-attack was that rock had always been on the political left, challenging authority and domination. Furthermore, the authors of one response claimed that the *Tribuna* article, after analysis, proved to be right-wing and anti-communist.

Yet propaganda points in the newspapers only provided the Section with breathing space. Soon Srp lost his job and was in danger of being hauled up on charges of being a social parasite—that is, unemployed. Other leaders and Section members were also harassed and intimidated.

A different tune: In 1984 the state's tactics changed. "They couldn't get us on ideological grounds," said Srp, "so they're trying to get us on economic grounds." The Section's financial records were



Karel Srp

confiscated, leading to charges that the Section illegally enriched itself by taking on outside work, and that back taxes were left unpaid. Without the records the Section could

not prove the charges false, but even so the group continued to operate. The weekly open house in the Prague headquarters still drew the young and daring; Jazz Section notepads and tapes were sold; information exchanged. Thomas Krivanek, a Section leader who was later arrested, said the Section still had projects and plans—for example, to refurbish the basement in the headquarters, creating a reading room and library for cultural and international magazines.

Despite the convictions of the organization's leaders, the Jazz Section's ultimate fate remains uncertain (though their appeals were recently rejected). The state considers the organization dead, but characteristically, the Section polled its members about the group's viability.

Members were asked in a questionnaire to evaluate the state of culture—and in particular the jazz-rock scene—in Czechoslovakia over the last 20 years. Many respondents criticized Czech culture in all its forms except classical music. They complained of lining up at 10 a.m. to have a chance to buy the new books that go on sale at 4 or 5 p.m. on Thursdays. They were angry at not having access to films such as *The Godfather* or *Gandhi*. One man complained that outside the big cities there is "only TV and a few balls with brass bands where people get drunk." Another wrote that "in a situation where any word would be dangerous," the most expressive cultural form is Czechoslovakia's popular pantomime. But, he worried, "what will happen when they find out that even movements can be doubly interpreted?"

Polling the Czechs: On the question of whether Jazz Section should do away with itself, only one respondent felt that they should join a competing, more conventional jazz organization. Another wrote: "I'm not sure if it's any value to stand up against the unlimited power of the authorities," yet, he finally concluded, probably it is of value: "with resignation everything would end. You fight on behalf of thousands of us young ones for at least a bit of cultural freedom."

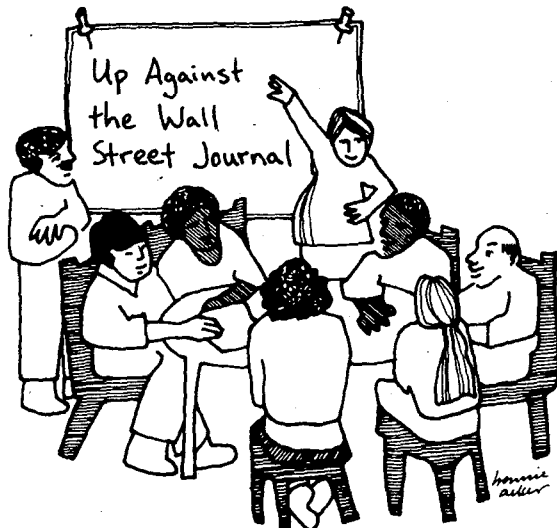
Just as a musical framework binds together improvised notes in a jazz tune, the Jazz Section provided a framework for the improvised creative moments of groups and fans throughout the country. They created an opening, and into that opening flowed the sounds and words usually heard only in private. The arrests and trials were the latest attempts by the authorities to plug up that opening. Yet, as Srp said, it is not so easy to kill off the Section's work: "Quite a few people were brought up by the Jazz Section. There are now activities such as exhibitions and concerts that do not have the Section's name on it, but its spirit." And Jazz Section's spirit, he added, is "not just jazz, but truth."

David Tal is the pseudonym of a New York based freelance writer.

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Hearings

Continued from page 13

lane's testimony before the select committees when Sen. William Cohen (R-ME) said to McFarlane: "Can I ask you, whether you ever suspected that Oliver North was taking instructions, not from you, but from the DCI [director of Central Intelligence]?"

"Yes, sir," McFarlane replied.

When asked whether he suspected North was actually working for the CIA instead of for him and Poindexter, McFarlane replied: "I became aware in the fall of 1985 that Ollie had more contacts with the director than I had realized."

The Defense Department: Secord testified that the Pentagon's chief military adviser in El Salvador, Col. James Steele, helped him facilitate some of the arms shipments of the aerial resupply network. Secord told the select committee that Steele was one of a chosen few individuals given a KL-43 encryption device that North obtained through the National Security Agency so that he could secretly communicate with North about the progress of the resupply network.

In recent weeks new evidence has emerged linking the Pentagon to North's illegal contra operations. This includes the revelation that a secret army intelligence unit set up a secret Swiss bank account later used by North to stash funds for use in his contra operation, as well as the disclosure that on-duty military personnel in Central America assisted the aerial resupply network.

The office of the vice president: Secord, in his congressional testimony, confirmed previous accounts that a key lieutenant in his aerial resupply network, Felix Rod-

riguez, a former CIA operative, was in constant contact with aides to Vice President George Bush during the time Rodriguez was helping run the network.

But Bush adamantly denies he knew at the time about the aerial network or any of North's contra support activities—despite the fact that his office admits that Bush, Gregg and other aides to the vice president had at least 17 contacts with Rodriguez since 1983.

It's now clear—just a few weeks into the congressional hearings that will likely continue into the fall—that every agency of the executive branch with responsibility for national security affairs participated in the Reagan administration's illegal support of the contras during the Boland Amendment prohibitions on aid. As those agencies are implicated, they conjure up an image of falling dominoes, whose trail leads to one end—Ronald Reagan.

His I-didn't-know-or-can't-remember defense has collapsed, so he has concocted what he hopes will prove a legal escape route: the Boland Amendment didn't apply to the executive branch. This is a new take on an old document—a document whose signers the president regularly compares to the contra "Freedom Fighters."

Will Congress permit him, with his fancy legal footwork, to dance around it? And if so, does Congress then become an unconstitutional partner-in-crime? These are open questions, but not so with one that lingered until Ronald Reagan recently made it perfectly clear: he supports the contras more than the Constitution.

Murray Waas, a Washington-based journalist, has written about the Iran-contra scandal for the *New Republic* and the *Village Voice*.

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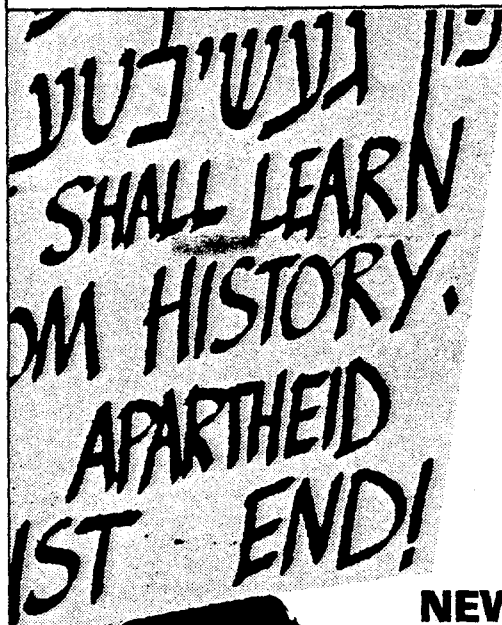
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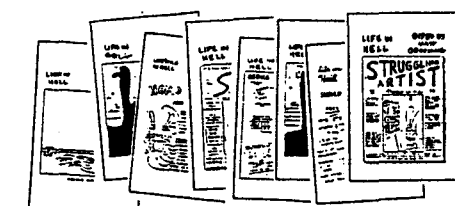
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MAH
GROENING

SCHOOL IS HELL

GETTING CAUGHT WITH THIS CARTOON IN YOUR POSSESSION MAY RESULT IN LOWER GRADES.

LESSON 6: THE 9 TYPES OF GRADE SCHOOL TEACHERS

I'LL SAY ONE THING FOR YOU: YOU'RE THE WORST STUDENT IN THE CLASS. SOMEBODY'S GOTTA BE THE WORST.

YOU WON'T GET ANYWHERE IN LIFE WITH A DEFEATIST ATTITUDE LIKE THAT.

"THE GOOD MOM"
WHOEVER ADMITS PUTTING THE THUMB TACK ON MY CHAIR WILL GET A GREAT BIG HUG FOR BEING SO HONEST.

ADVANTAGES: EASY TO PLEASE.
DRAWBACKS: MAKES BEING BAD NO FUN.
WARNING: OFTEN "BAD MOM" IN DISGUISE.

"MS. SUNSHINE"
I THINK "PLEASE" AND "THANK YOU" ARE THE MOST BEAUTIFUL WORDS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE--DON'T YOU?

ADVANTAGES: SLOW TO RILE.
DRAWBACKS: CAN BE PUSHED OVER EDGE.
WARNING: TURNS INTO "MS. RAGING TORNADO"

"THE BIG PAL"
I BELIEVE THIS NEXT 50-YO TRICK WILL PROVE A VERY INTERESTING SCIENTIFIC THEORY.

ADVANTAGES: ACTS LIKE A KID.
DRAWBACKS: KIND OF SCARY.
WARNING: MAY BE FIRED MID-YEAR.

"JUMPY"
IF YOU KIDS DON'T SETTLE DOWN IN FIVE OR TEN MINUTES I THINK I'M GOING TO BE SLIGHTLY UPSET.

ADVANTAGES: EASILY MANIPULATED.
DRAWBACKS: MAY GO BERSERK.
WARNING: SCREAMS TO RESTORE ORDER.

"THE BAD MOM"
SIT DOWN.
BE QUIET.
HURRY UP.
SPEAK UP.
PAY ATTENTION.
DON'T RUN.
DO IT AGAIN.

ADVANTAGES: PREDICTABLE.
DRAWBACKS: REPETITIOUS.
WARNING: HAS EYES IN BACK OF HEAD.

"GRANDMA"
WHEN I WAS A LITTLE GIRL WE DIDN'T GIVE OUR TEACHER THE FINGER WHEN WE WERE BORED.

ADVANTAGES: SLOW-MOVING, POOR MEMORY.
DRAWBACKS: CRANKY AS HELL.
WARNING: SURPRISINGLY FAST AND STRONG.

"THE SARGE"
RULE #10: NO LATE PAPERS.
RULE #11: NO MONKEY BUSINESS.
RULE #12: SHAPE UP OR SHIP OUT.
RULE #13: I AM NEVER WRONG.

ADVANTAGES: PLAYS FAVORITES.
DRAWBACKS: TORMENTS SCAPEGOATS.
WARNING: WHEN SHE SMILES, LOOK OUT.

"THE MARTIAN"
YOU BRATS THINK I'M OVER THE HILL? I'VE GOT NEWS FOR YOU: I AM THE HILL.

ADVANTAGES: ACTS WEIRD.
DRAWBACKS: ACTS REALLY WEIRD.
WARNING: WEIRDNESS IS CONTAGIOUS.

"THE MONSTER"
IF YOU'RE ALL GOING TO ACT LIKE STUPID LITTLE FOOLS I'M GOING TO TREAT YOU LIKE STUPID LITTLE FOOLS.

ADVANTAGES: NONE.
DRAWBACKS: PLENTY.
WARNING: RUN FOR YOUR LIFE.

Spirit of Enterprise



By Sandra Lee Pinel

ZIA PUEBLO, N.M.

IN THE OLD VILLAGE ON TOP OF THE WIND-BLOWN mesa the drums sing and the fox skins wave. The corn dance is encircled by a cluster of soft earth homes. But on Monday morning Peter Pino leaves the old village and parks his pickup outside the sharp-edged tribal office building of the new Zia area, two rows of unsettled-looking buildings greeting the highway to Albuquerque.

His job? To manage tribal finances and administration. His training? A master's degree in business administration. The conflict? His training is in the business world but his heart is in the Pueblo world. His job is to ensure the financial well-being of the tribe, but he fears that if profit becomes the goal "we will forget our shrines and no longer be Indians."

Out from under the Bureau: Pino started as tribal treasurer 15 years ago earning \$200 a year at a time when the annually appointed governors—the secular directors of the Pueblo—had no paid staff. It was also a time when the Pueblo was dependent on Bureau of Indian Affairs' direction.

In 1969 the governor's office was a desk and a suitcase that moved each January to the new governor's house. In 1970 the Nixon administration recognized tribal governments as being responsible for their own plans, people and use of land and water resources. At that time Zia Pueblo didn't even have an administrative office.

The tribal council, which includes all the men of the 650-person community and makes decisions by consensus, met wherever there was a large enough living room. Pino has helped create an office and procedures to help each governor deal with the growing list of worries: tribal water, rights, legislation, financial investments and overgrazing.

But the question that Pino takes home at night is what to do about business development.

"The tribe is at a split in the trail," he says.

"We need to generate dollars because tribal government is responsible for providing services to its people. But business development is a stranger and you don't marry a stranger the first time you meet."

Reagan's Indian rap: President Reagan's 1983 American Indian Policy states, "This administration intends to foster tribal self-government by creating a favorable environment for the development of healthy reservation economies...and encouraging cooperative efforts among the tribes, the federal government and the private sector." To accomplish this the president directed the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other government agencies to "unleash the power of the private sector" and remove "impediments" to Indian individuals and non-Indian corporations who want to open up businesses on Indian reservations.

But Pino worries about the power of the private sector.

"If someone is going to make it in the business world he has to look out for number one and the heck with everyone else," he says. Pino believes this is the opposite of the Pueblo world view of share and share alike—a view that hasn't made anyone wealthy but does keep everyone's stomach full.

Evenings, when the New Mexico sun seems to glow orange from inside each mesa rock, Pino is out in his corn and chile field with his father and son.

"When you work the ground where there was nothing before, put the seed in—you hoe, irrigate, you talk to the crops. It's like nurturing a child," he says as his hands show the spiraling growth as in a pueblo prayer song.

"I'm like 85 percent of the people here," he says. "I don't think about how much money I spend on farming or what I get out of it. If the crop is destroyed after I've worked so hard on it I just think that's the way the spirits want it and I go on."

The satisfaction is not money, he says; it's seeing the plants grow and being able to give chile and melons to one's relative or to the

community officials for the annual August feast day.

"We're taught that if you give unselfishly the spirits will provide for your needs," Pino says. The dances are also offerings. In the corn dance, three-year-olds, old women and men who are janitors or lawyers all push their feet into the earth in unison with the singers.

Pueblo administrator Peter Pino tries to determine if "tribal business" is a contradiction in terms.

The Spanish named the Indian tribes of the Rio Grande area "pueblos" because they lived in tight villages and cultivated the surrounding fields. Zia Pueblo tries to maintain harmony among neighbors even by preventing the fencing and landscaping of yards. Someone who can't afford to fix up his yard might be jealous. Homes stand neat, but simple.

When worlds collide: Pino gives an example of what could happen if some tribal members opened up a restaurant business on the reservation.

"People would expect a free cup of coffee, just as they would in your home," he says. A lot of people wouldn't understand that the owner has to make a profit to pay the bills.

He fears that people might begin asking themselves, "What am I getting for what I give?" They understand paying a non-Indian in Albuquerque for a meal, but it is different at home.

Still, Pino isn't against working for a living. He wants his own children to have the skills and confidence to provide for their families and "not depend on anyone else." He says that they can afford to slaughter a cow for a cousin's wedding the way their parents have.

"But I want my children to be balanced,

satisfied individuals," he says, not to have to live with too much stress. From his own experience dealing all day with the two trains of thought, he thinks it might be easier to live in two worlds by keeping the two worlds separate: people go to the jobs instead of the jobs coming to the people.

"If I was out there working in the dominant society I'd get up in the morning and change my hat." At work he'd be able to think only about business. "When quitting time comes I'd set aside my business hat and during the hour drive home I'd start thinking about practicing the songs, getting back to my family and to what my ancestors did." The traditional activities would "give me strength to go out and tackle the business world again," he says.

Pino thinks many people are satisfied with season or temporary jobs: they can get by financially and still meet all their community obligations. Eight-to-five jobs on the Pueblo would conflict with a lot of the ceremonies.

People resist change, he says. And those who work in town don't want to have to come to a council meeting to talk about business when they get home.

"To have business development succeed, you have to have that complete marriage between the people and the development." Otherwise, when it has trouble, those who didn't want it will say, "It was his idea, and when that happens they'll remember forever," Pino says. "Why jump in bed with business on the first date? We aren't going anywhere."

One possibility is to invest in a business in Albuquerque, learn business where "the game is played" and gradually bring business closer to home.

Pino is full of questions on how to have the control to take the best of both worlds. He raises these questions when he attends the board meetings of the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs and the Council of Energy Resource Tribes.

Playing hardball with hyenas: As federal funds dry up, "Indian tribes are like a carcass in the desert. Business developers circle like hyenas." Their promises of wealth sound good but "they play hardball." Tribes have to be prepared, Pino says.

"Although I am traditional, I can talk to business people in their language." But if he was 100 percent committed to running a profitable business for the tribe or for himself, he fears he might not have time for the traditions. One of these is hunting, which 90 percent of the Zia men still do.

"It's a good feeling," he says, "to carry a deer out of the mountains, a chance to get close to Mother Earth, to prove I am still a hunter like my ancestors were," he says, peace replacing the concern in his eyes.

His business appointments are written in the white calendar boxes on his desk; he knows quail, turkey, deer and elk seasons by heart.

The Presidential Commission on Reservation Economies issued its report to the president in 1984, listing more than a dozen barriers to business development on Indian reservations: lack of capital, lack of business training, lack of infrastructure and others. But only Peter Pino and his fellow members of Zia Pueblo can address the barrier of the heart.

Sandra Lee Pinel is a New Mexico-based writer who has worked as a community planner with several Pueblo Indian tribes.